

VOL. XIV]

[PARTS I- II

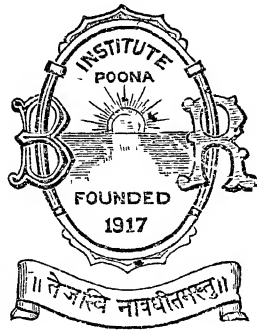
**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona
Volume XIV
1932-33**

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Printed by V. G. Paranjpe, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt, at the
Bhandarkar Institute Press, 198 (17) Sadashiv,
Poona No. 2, and Published by
S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., Secretary, at the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
POONA

1933

CONTENTS

VOLUME XIV, PARTS I - II

(10th January 1933)

ARTICLES	Pages
1 Gāthālakṣaṇa of Nanditādhyā by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M. A. ...	1--38
2 Śaṅkara's Authorship of the Gītābhāṣya by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, B. A. (Hons.) ...	39--60
3 A Ms. of Varāṅga-Carita by A. N. Upadhye, M. A. ...	61--79
4 Nirvāṇa and Buddhist Laymen by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M. A., Ph. D., B. L. ...	80--86
5 Typical Problems of Hindu Mathematics by Gurugovinda Chakravartī, M. A., B. Sc. ...	87--102
6 Nāgara Apabhraṁśa and Nāgarī Script by Prof. N. B. Divatia, B. A. ...	103--125

MISCELLANEA

- 7 Notes on Indian Chronology, by P. K. Gode, M. A.
(xv) Hemādri's Commentary on the Raghuvamśa (called Darpana) and its probable Date ;
(xvi) Some further light on the date of Śrīkantha, the author of Rasakaumudī ; (xvii)
A rare Manuscript of a Commentary on the Meghadūta called Sāroddhārini ; (xviii) A
quotation from the Hanūmannātaka in the
Commentary on Meghadūta by Mahimamahsa-
gani, composed in Samvat 1693 (= A. D. 1637) ... 126--133
- 8 Binka Plates of Raṇabhañjadeva of the Regnal
year 16, by Adrisha Chandra Banerji, M. A. ... 134--141

	Pages
9 References to the Bauddhas and their Philosophy in Umāsvāti's Tattvārthabhāṣya and Siddha- sena Gaṇi's Commentary to it, by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M. A. ...	142-144
10 Rājaprasāniya Sūtra, its claim as Upāṅga, its title etc by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M. A. ..	145-149

REVIEWS

11 Buddhistic Studies, edited by Dr. B. C. Law, Ph D., M. A., B. L., reviewed by E. J. Thomas, D. Litt., M. A., Deputy Librarian Cambridge ...	150-152
12 The Chāndogyamantrabhāṣya of Gunavisnu edited by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, reviewed by Dr. S. N. Pradhan, M. Sc., Ph. D. ...	153-156
13 Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali by Prof. Padmanath Bhatta- charyya, M. A., reviewed by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M. A. ...	157-160

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

VOL XIV]

OCTOBER - JANUARY

[PARTS I - II

GĀTHĀLAKṢANA OF NANDITĀḌHYA

[A TREATISE ON PRAKRIT METRES]

BY

PROF. H. D. VELANKAR, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

Summary— (1) Introductory - a correction, (2) Mss on which the edition is based. (3) Analysis of the Contents of the work, Vv. 1-39 (4) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 40-62. (5) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 63-75 (6) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 76-96. (7) Vv. 76-96 did not form part of the original ext. (8) Vv. 15 and 30 are similarly doubtful (9) So are also Vv. 26-29 and 10) Vv. 39, 52 and 55 (11) The author. (12) Four points regarding the life of the author. (13) Detailed examination of the last point — Sanskrit and Prakrit, the languages of the learned and the masses respectively (14) The Prakrits and the Jainas. — How they maintained the distinction between the learned and the masses. — The tendency of the masses and the cultivation of *their* language. (15) How the elevation of 'the language of the masses' to 'a literary language' takes place. (16) The rule illustrated by Prakrits and Marathi. (17) The origin and similar elevation of the Apabhraṃśa language — The probable date of the latter. — (18) Apabhraṃśa is rather a stage through which every Prakrit has passed — but all Prakrits in this stage may not have become literary languages. (19) Thus the Mahārāṣṭrī apabhraṃśa may not have become a literary language (20) The conclusion regarding the date of Nanditāḍhya, the author]

1 After editing Virahāṅka's Vṛttajātisamuccaya, I directed my attention to another work on Prakrit Metres described by me

in my Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 37. My description of the work, however, is a little misleading. The facts regarding the Ms. are as follows :— The name of the work is Gāthālakṣaṇa; that of the author is Nanditādhyā. The commentary is not by the author himself but by some body else. Further our Ms. contains only the Avacūri but not the text. Ignorance and oversight are jointly responsible for the wrong description which I then gave and for which I now regret.

2 I was greatly disappointed when I discovered that our Ms. did not contain the text. But I referred to my Jinaratnakośa (An alphabetical list of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. of Jainism to be published shortly) and found that there were two Mss. at Ahmedabad. I wrote to Mr K. P. Mody, B. A., LL. B., who with his usual kindness promised to help me in the matter and secured these Mss for me in a few days. One of these (A) contains Ratnacandra's commentary and ends exactly like Peterson's Ms. described by him at Report III, p. 224. This commentary is very brief. It does not give a Sanskrit rendering of the Prakrit illustrations but only explains a few words in them now and then. It is, however, very valuable in that it alludes to a so far unknown work (i. e. Svayambhū Chandas) on Prakrit metres in two places, (v. 21 and v. 30) the existence of which is further confirmed by the commentator of Kavidarpaṇa, also a work on the same subject, which I soon intend to publish. It also tells us that v. 57 of the text is from Rohinīcarita, v. 59 and 60 from Puṣpa-dāntacarita and v. 61 from Gāthāsahasra Śatapathālaṃkāra. All these works are mere names to us. A reference to my Jinaratnakośa is in no way helpful. A few Mss. of the Rohinīcarita are known to exist but others are not known at all. The last looks like an anthology of a thousand Gāthās. The second Ahmedabad Ms. (B) contains a few useful footnotes which at any rate do not seem to be based on Ratnacandra. The Avacūri in the Society's Ms. (C) also is not materially different from that of Ratnacandra. Its text seems to contain two additional stanzas and many important variant readings. My edition is based upon these three Mss.

3 Gāthālakṣaṇa is a treatise, as its name signifies, on the Gāthā metre which is the oldest Prakrit metre. It is very

commonly employed in the Jain and the Buddhist Āgamas and shows various stages of its development. It is probably this fact i. e. that it is a sort of sacred metre of the Jainas, that has actuated Nanditādhyā to write his treatise on the Gāthā, but more of this later on. The Gāthālakṣaṇa in its present form consists of 96 stanzas written mostly in the Gāthā metre. Of these, about 49 stanzas are given as illustrations while the remaining contain the definitions &c. of the different varieties of a Gāthā and other metres. In the introductory stanzas (1-2) the author tells us that he proposes to define the Gāthā and discuss the nature of short and long letters, which are employed in the Prakrit poems. In stanzas 3 to 5, short and long letters are explained while the next 11 stanzas (6-16) discuss the composition of a Gāthā. In this discussion, very peculiar terms are used. They differ considerably from those employed by Virahāṅka and Piṅgala. Thus Śara is a Caturmātra according to our author while it is a Pañcamātra according to Piṅgala and Virahāṅka. 'Kamala' is a long letter; Nabhas is IIII and Ghana or Megha is ISI, which is usually known as Narendra or Stana. Stanzas 17-20 give the three main varieties of a Gāthā viz. Pathyā, Vipulā and Capalā and the three sub-divisions of the last variety. When a word ends with the 12th Mātrā and does not extend beyond it in both the halves of a Gāthā, it is Pathyā, and when it does not so end but extends beyond it, it is Vipulā. In a Capalā, the second and the fourth Ganas in one or both the halves are Gurumadhya (i. e. ISI) and are both preceded and followed by long letters. It is called Mukhacapalā when they are so only in the first half, Jaghanacapalā when only in the latter and Sarvacapalā when in both. Stanzas 21-25 contain the examples of these varieties, while 26-30 give the illustrations of Giti, Udgitī, Upagiti, Samkirṇā and Gāthā in general. In v. 31 Nanditādhyā declares that in the Prakrit language which he employs both for the definitions and the illustrations, such forms as 'Jiha', 'Kiha', 'Tiha' (i. e. according to the commentator Ratnacandra. Apabhramśa forms) will not occur. But the similes that he chooses in this connection are very strange. He compares his composition with a prostitute and a lustful person. Just as in the former there is no true love or in the latter no truth in speech so there are no Apabhraṣṭa forms in his composition. We intend to discuss the

significance of this remark later on. In vv. 32-37, the other four divisions of a Gāthā based upon a different principle are given with their illustrations. They are (1) Viprā with both halves containing long letters (2) Ksatriyā with the first half containing all long and the second half containing all short letters (3) Vaiśyā which is just the reverse of the Ksatriyā and (4) Śudrā with both halves containing all short letters. The illustrations in vv. 35-36 look like quotations; but their source is unknown. In v. 38, all the ten varieties of a Gāthā discussed so far i. e. (1) Pathyā (2) Vipulā (3-5) the three kinds of Capalā, (6-9) the four varieties just mentioned and (10) the mixed are recounted. It is very difficult to understand what exactly the author means by a Miśrā Gāthā. The possible mixture, so far as I can see is either of (1) and (2) with (3-5) or of (6-9) with any one of (1-5). But the example given in v. 39 does not contain any such mixture. It is a Pathyā all right; but the characteristics of any other variety are not noticeable in it. It is not Capalā nor is it any one of the last four. I am unable to understand how it is Miśrā. It is not probably an example given by the author himself as I will show later (Para 10), yet even when we grant that a reader inserted it, we are unable to see how and why he should have regarded it as an example of Miśrā.

4 The author next proceeds to discuss the other 26 varieties of Gāthā based upon a different principle. He enumerates them in vv. 40-41 and explains the same in vv. 42-44. These verses are clearly the composition of our author and he is probably the originator of this 26-fold division. This is why he does not introduce these divisions as given by 'some' Ācāryas, as for instance is done by Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N. S. P. 1912), p. 27 b, line 15 ff. and the commentator of Kavidarpaṇa (Ms.). The first of these 26 divisions is Kamalā; it contains three short letters which must be compulsorily employed (cf. v. 10). In the next 25, one long letter is successively replaced by two short ones until we get 55 short letters in the 26th variety. In the following 11 stanzas (45-55) Nanditādhya gives some of the six Pratyayas in respect of the Gāthā. In vv. 45-46, he explains briefly the 'Laghu-guru-kriyā' i. e. the process of finding out the number of short or long letters in a Gāthā. In v. 47, he gives

the total number of Mātrās obtaining in a Gāthā. Here he gives the weight (!) of a Gāthā as equal to 57 Palas if one Mātrā is supposed to be one Karsa in weight. Vv. 48-51 explain the Samkhyā i. e. the total number of possible permutations of a Gāthā. It is called the Prastāra (i. e. the Prastāra-Samkhyā the total number of the Prastāras i. e. Permutations). V. 52 gives the Prastārasamkhyā of other metres. The verse is doubtful as shown below (Para 10). V. 53 teaches how to find the total number of letters from the known number of short letters contained in it ; while vv. 54-55 give the method of finding out the serial number of a Gāthā among its varieties from the same data i. e. the known number of short letters. The serial number is technically called Naksatra in v. 55. This shows perhaps that the 26 varieties of the Gāthā were at one time named after the 26 Naksatras. Our author, however, has different names (cf. vv. 40-41). This topic of the Gāthā is then closed with a discussion and illustration (vv. 56-62) of letters which become short or long by position. Here as said above, the author quotes from older works according to Ratnacandra.

5 Having thus explained the composition of the different varieties of a Gāthā proper and incidentally the letters which are short and long either naturally or by position, the author now turns his attention to those metres which are derived from the Gāthā by the addition or removal of a few Mātrās. These are six in number including the Gāthā, and are regarded as the varieties of Gāthā by the author. This view of the author seems well to accord with the names of these varieties. These names with the exception of the last, are all but slight variants of the name Gāthā. The first is Gātha with two lines of 27 Mātrās each ; the second is the Gāthā proper ; the third is Vigāthā which is just the reverse of a Gāthā and has 27 Mātrās in the first line and 30 in the second. The fourth is Udgāthā with two lines of 30 Mātrās each. The fifth is Gāthinī which has 30 Mātrās in the first and 32 in the second. The sixth and the last is the Skandhaka and has 32 Mātrās in each line. These appear to be the older names of these metres and are also employed by Pingala ; cf. I. 48, 49, 60, 61, 62 and 63. Pingala, however, gives one more variety called Śimhinī, the two lines of which respectively contain 32 and 30

Mātrās and is just the reverse of Gāthini. The other and probably newer names of Gātha, Vigāthā and Udgātha are respectively Upagīti, Udgīti and Gīti. These are used by Hemacandra and others. Hemacandra treats both Gāthini and Simhini as a mixture of Gīti and Skandhaka, cf. p. 29a, l. 9. He employs the names Gātha, Vigāthā and Udgātha for those varieties of a Gāthā, the first lines of which respectively contain 38, 54 and 46 Mātrās while the second contain 27 Mātrās only. To proceed, Nanditādhyā gives the definitions of these six varieties in vv. 63-65 and their illustrations in vv. 66-71. Mss. A and B do not contain the illustration of Vigāthā, but C seems to have it though I am unable to reconstruct it from the Avacūri; cf. the notes. Two instances of Udgātha are given. The second is interesting. Ordinarily as in v. 68, the first and third Pādas of an Udgātha or Gīti contain 12 mātrās each while the second and the fourth have 18 each (also cf. v. 16). But in the second example of Udgātha given in v. 69, each of the four Pādas contains 15 Mātrās as is clear from the Yati and the rhyme (see notes). V. 72 corresponds to v. 53 and teaches how to find out the total number of letters in a given permutation of the Skandhaka metre which has 28 permutations in all. The author of course casually suggests that the least number of letters in Skandhaka is 34 as it is 30 in a Gāthā. V. 73 explains how there must exist at least four short letters in the Skandhaka metre. These four compulsory short letters are the first and the last of the sixth Gaṇa in both halves. This Gaṇa must either be IIII or ISI. No other Caturmātra is allowed in this place; cf. V. J. S. IV. 9 and Hemacandra p. 28 b, l. 14 ff. Vv. 74 and 75 contain two illustrations of the Skandhaka containing 6 and 4 short letters respectively. The purpose of the first is not clear; that of the second is to show where the four short letters must occur since this is not given in v. 73.

6 Here really the work ought to end, since all about Gāthā and its varieties has been said, and this alone was promised by the author. But all the three Mss. agree in giving what follows. In this portion the definitions of a few other metres mostly employed in the Apabhramśa poems are given along with their illustrations. In this manner Paddhati is defined and illustrated in vv. 76-77, Candrānana or Madanāyatāra in vv. 78-79; Dvi-

padī in vv. 80-81, Vastuka and Sārdhacchandās in vv. 82-83, Dūhā, its varieties and derivatives in vv. 84-94 and Śloka in the last two verses of the text.

7 The treatment of these metres appears to be foreign to the intentions of Nanditāḍhya who merely promises in the beginning of his work, to define and discuss Gāthā alone. Indeed, the treatment of Gāthā would be incomplete if all its varieties and particularly the metres derived from it are not thoroughly discussed, but by no stretch of imagination can the treatment of Gāthā include the discussion of metres that have hardly any connection with it. This is, however, not the only ground which leads to the conclusion that vv. 76 to 96 did not form part of the original text of Nanditāḍhya's Gāthālakṣaṇa. There are others also. In v. 31 Nanditāḍhya expresses his contempt for the Apabhraṃśa language in very strong terms. We therefore cannot expect him to define, much less to illustrate, the metres usually employed in the Apabhraṃśa language. But we actually find that vv. 76-77 and 83-94 are composed entirely in the Apabhraṃśa language. It is clear that they cannot be fathered upon Nanditāḍhya. There is also a third reason which shows the same thing. Nanditāḍhya does not address his work to any particular person. There is not a single reference to a particular addressee either at the beginning or in the sequel. He merely says 'Now I will describe or speak out &c.'; cf. vv. 1, 2, 20, 32 and 63. Moreover, Nanditāḍhya was probably a monk and hence address to a wife is particularly impossible. But this is what we find in vv. 78, 79, 84 and 86. Of these stanzas, v. 79 is clearly a quotation from Virahāṅka's Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya (I. 17). It is addressed to his wife. It seems to have been given in our work to explain some technical terms in v. 78. But it is entirely opposed to Nanditāḍhya's nomenclature (cf. Śara is Caturmātra in v. 8 but Pañcamātra here, being the name of a weapon; also see above Para 3). Only v. 80 seems to bear some relation to v. 8 and v. 48 (see notes) through the term Kamala (= long letter). It is thus inevitable to conclude that originally the work ended with v. 75.

8 Nor can it be said with certainty that the first 75 stanzas are all genuine. Many of these look rather suspicious and may

have been added by some reader. Thus v. 15 does not appear to be quite necessary. As a rule, the illustration follows the definition and therefore v. 15 ought to have followed v. 16 where the definition of a Gāthā is completed. It should also be noted that v. 30 is another illustration of a Gāthā. Two are obviously unnecessary but even one is questionable, since all instances of the different varieties of a Gāthā given in vv. 21-25 are also the instances of a Gāthā in general.

9 The examples of Gīti, Udgīti and Saṃkīrṇā given in vv. 26-29 are obviously a reader's addition, of course, of a rather early date since all the three Mss. uniformly give these stanzas in this place. They are not the varieties of a Gāthā in the proper sense, but varieties derived from Gāthā and slightly differing from it. They are called Viśeṣagāthās by some. Our author gives these varieties with their definitions and illustrations only after finishing the 10 or 26 varieties of a Gāthā proper, but he employs different and perhaps older names; see above Para 5 and vv. 63 ff. Saṃkīrṇā of v. 29 is the Gāthīnī of v. 70. Some impatient reader must have added these here thinking that the varieties ought to be illustrated here as is done by Hemacandra for instance; see p. 27 b. He obviously forgot that the author had not defined them yet and the illustrations for that reason would be quite uncalled for. This difficulty is felt by Ratnacandra who says that the definitions of these varieties should be known from 'Svayambhū Chandas'.

10 An example of Mīśrā which is mentioned as one of the ten varieties in v. 38 is surely expected and v. 39 proposes to give it but as said above (Para 3) it is not really an example of Mīśrā, for which see for example Hemacandra, p. 27 b, l. 4 ff. It was probably added by a reader who thought that an example of Mīśrā was necessary though not given by the author and who understood by it a Gāthā in general. V. 52 appears to be a clear interpolation since the names Gīti, Udgīti and Upagīti were unknown to Nanditādhyā as said above. V. 55 is not found in B, nor is it very necessary since it is almost the repetition of v. 54.

11 The author of the Gāthālakṣaṇa is Nanditādhyā. He is mentioned twice i. e. in v. 31 and v. 63. The Prakrit form of the

name is Nandiyaddha and the corresponding Sanskrit form is Nanditāḍhya according to Ratnacandra or Nanditārdha according to the Avacūri in C. He both composed the definitions and gave the illustrations of the different varieties of the Gāthā. This is clear from vv. 20 and 32. Some of the illustrations seem to have been composed by Nanditāḍhya himself (see for example 21-25 where the conscious effort to introduce the name of the particular variety by Mudrālamkāra is clear) though the others may have been quoted by him from older writers. Thus in the opinion of Ratnacandra, he quotes from Rohiṇīcarita (v. 57), Puṣpadantacarita (vv. 59 and 60) and Śatapathālamkāra. Neither the authors nor the dates of any of these three works are known.

12 The date of our author cannot be fixed with any certainty. Yet the following facts may be offered for consideration. (1) The name Nanditāḍhya :— This appears to be one of the ancient names of the Jain Yatis which are very rarely employed in later days. We cannot assign any reasons for this fact but names like Samantabhadra, Sthūlabhadra, Bhadrabāhu, Akalanka and Umāsvāti are hardly assumed by the later Yatis. Nanditāḍhya looks like one of such names, (2) The metre chosen by him for discussion is one of the most ancient metres and the metre which is extensively used in the Jain Āgamas. The fact that he restricts himself to it indicates that he was a Jain Yati (also see vv. 1, 21-25, 36-37, 57, 62, 67-68, 70-71) anxious to explain the sacred metre used for his sacred Āgamas and no other. He seems to avoid studiously the discussion of the Prakrit metres of a purely popular origin. This would perhaps show that these metres had not yet secured recognition among the Jain Monk-Pandits, and this is possible only in the early centuries of the Christian Era. (3) Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana (p. 27 b; l. 15 ff.) seems to have quoted vv. 40-42 from our book. He does not mention either our work or its author but merely says that these divisions are given by 'some' writers. But as there is no ground to suppose that those stanzas were also borrowed from some other source by our author it may be safely assumed that they were composed by him and were quoted from our work by Hemacandra. V. 56 again is quoted by Ratnaśekhara in his Chandaḥkośa (v. 3). It is true, of

course, that the verse is not given as a quotation by him. It forms part of his text and Ratnaśekhara probably wants us to believe that it was composed by him ; but it can be conclusively proved that Ratnaśekhara unscrupulously reproduces entire stanzas or parts of them from older works such as Pingala and others. It is not improbable, therefore, that the said stanza was reproduced by him from our work. Candrakīrti, a lineal descendant of Ratnaśekhara and the commentator of his Chandahkośa also quotes v. 9 and v. 12 in his commentary on the 53rd stanza. Even he does not mention the name of either the work or the author, but there appears to be no ground for a reasonable doubt regarding the source of these stanzas. They are quite in their place in our work and have not in the least, the appearance of a borrowed quotation. Ratnaśekhara belonged to the 15th and Candrakīrti to the 17th century of the Samvat Era. Hemacandra belonged to the 12th century of the same era and if our assumption is correct, Nanditādhya must have flourished much earlier. (4) Lastly, the reference to the purity of his Prakrit in v. 31 by Nanditādhya is very significant. After giving examples of the first five varieties of the Gāthā, he declares in the next verse i. e. v. 31 that such forms as Jiha, Kiha and Tiha shall not occur in his Prakrit language. The occasion for this declaration is, I think, obvious. In vv. 21-25 he has composed his own instances to illustrate the Pathyā and other varieties. He wants to say that, in these and also in other illustrations that are to follow he shall not use such Apabhraṣṭa forms as Jiha &c. Ratnacandra is right in interpreting these forms as an Upalaksana of the Apabhramśa language in general. That these are the Apabhramśa forms is clear from Hemacandra, Grammar, VIII. 4. 401. Now this contemptuous allusion to the Apabhramśa language is a clear indication of an early date for our author as will be shown below.

13 From time immemorial, the Sanskrit language is regarded as the language of the learned in India. Literature written in this language alone could lay any claim to the attention of the Pandits. The Prakrits were regarded as the languages of the masses only. Hence when a philosophical or a scientific work was conceived, it had to be written in the Sanskrit language, as otherwise there was no hope of its being dignified.

Pandits who alone could pronounce an opinion on a literary or scientific production. It is for this reason that we do not find any compositions of a serious nature written in Prakrit language by the Hindus. Even the Grammars of the Prakrit languages were written in Sanskrit.

14 The case was slightly different with the Jain Pandits. The Sanskrit, no doubt, was regarded as the language of the learned even by them. While combating the indigenous non-Jain philosophical systems, which were all written in Sanskrit, the Jain Pandits had necessarily to resort to the Sanskrit language. As a further step of this, they had to write in Sanskrit, independent treatises expounding their philosophical doctrines or commentaries on the original Prakrit Sūtras, so as to make them accessible to their Sanskrit-knowing opponents, who had as it were, formed an 'inner circle' of the learned, to which only the Sanskritists could hope to get an admission. It is on account of this fact, that we find a very large proportion of Jain literature written in Sanskrit. For the same reason, we also hear of the attempts of earlier Jain writers like Siddhasena Divākara to rewrite the whole Jain Āgama Literature into Sanskrit. Bhadrēśvara records a tradition in his Kathāvali, according to which Siddhasena Divākara was once ashamed at the public scandal that the Jain Siddhānta was merely in Prakrit and offered to translate the same into Sanskrit, but was severely reprimanded by the Sangha for this impious thought (cf. Apabhraṃśakāvyaṭrayī, Gaek. O. Series Vol. 37, Intro. p. 74). But after all, Prakrit was the sacred language of the Jainas and had to be respected by them along with Sanskrit. The tendency to differentiate between 'the language of the learned' and 'the language of the masses' however, is unmistakably noticeable even in the Jain Pandits. As a rule, Jain Pandits were Yatis and in many cases had adopted the robes of a Śramaṇa at a very tender age. From that early age they were taught Sanskrit and Prakrit and as a result of this deep devotion to study became steeped in the knowledge of Jain and non-Jain philosophical doctrines. It appears that this distinction between the Śramaṇas who were solely devoted to learning and the Śrāvakas who pursued with equal devotion 'the art of earning' was scrupulously maintained from the beginning

in the Jain community. The Śrāvakas were as a rule persuaded to cultivate the knowledge of secular subjects and were not allowed nor encouraged to study and explain even their own Āgamas. The Yatis had in this manner, secured a higher intellectual plane for themselves where they were highly respected and from which they could look down with contempt upon the Śrāvakas who were virtually doomed to intellectual inferiority since they had no access to the most respectable and rich languages i. e. the Sanskrit and the Prakrit. This was not resented by the Śrāvakas apparently for two reasons :— Firstly because the Jains as a community belong to the trading classes, and secondly because, those among them whose tendency lay in the opposite direction and were devoted to learning could follow their inclinations without any obstructions by embracing the order of monks. The difficulty indeed was for those Śrāvakas who could not renounce their earthly connections and yet were deeply devoted to learning. Such persons usually directed their literary energies towards the study and cultivation of the lower languages which were the languages of the masses. They wrote their poems in the popular language and for the ordinary people. Such literary productions naturally dealt with popular subjects which were either love or religious stories. These productions when they contained high literary qualities become popular not only among the masses for whom they were originally meant, but also among the learned who, inspite of their prejudices against the language, were not slow to recognise high poetical merit where-so-ever it existed.

15 It is indeed in this manner, that 'a language of the masses' assumes the status of a literary language. In its earlier stages the language is generally despised by the learned, who in every country and every period of history are always anxious to keep up their superiority by carrying on their activities in a language which is beyond the reach of the ordinary masses. But as persons, who cannot become technically 'learned' owing to circumstances, yet have the special aptitude for writing poetry — either devotional or lyric — come forward to enrich their language by means of their literary activities, it gains in importance and force itself upon the attention and admiration

of the learned. Such literature naturally possesses high literary merits since it is usually the product of natural poetic genius and not of laboured erudition, and has little difficulty in establishing the claim of its language to a place among 'the languages of the learned'. When this recognition is thus secured, the learned do not think it derogatory to handle the language and gradually begin to write in it.

16 That such a fate was shared by the Prakrits is clear as shown above, from the story of Siddhasena Divākara. The name 'Bālabhāsā' deridingly given to the Prakrit points in the same direction. Bāla is an ignorant man (cf. Manu. II. 153) and Bālabhāsā is the language of the uneducated. In the same manner, the vernaculars are known to have passed through this ordeal. For a long time, Marathi was considered to be unfit for being employed in high literary works. Jñāneśvara, who wrote his Jñāneśvarī (commentary on Bhagvadgītā) of high literary value in Marathi, and was thus a pioneer of Marathi literature, shows his consciousness of such contemptuous treatment meted out to that language by the learned men of his times. It was after the composition of this work, that the Pandits could admit that the Marathi language was capable of expressing the thoughts of the learned. Before the Jñāneśvarī, the Mahānubhāvas no doubt produced a considerable literature in Marathi, but it obviously did not help to elevate the language as it was written in a secret script and was meant only for the followers of the Mahānubhāva Sect. But even Jñāneśvara could not elevate Marathi to the status of a literary language. For a considerable time after him, only religious and devotional poetry was written in it and this was meant for ordinary masses alone. It was only when educated persons like Ekanātha, Mukteśvara and Vāmana Pandit began to write more varied kinds of literature in Marathi that it fully and definitely became a literary language.

17 Naturally the Apabhramśa language could not be an exception to this general rule. On the other hand, it seems to have suffered most in this direction. The name Apabhramśa or Apabhraṣṭa (cf. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V, new series, p. 88) is highly significant. It bears no connection with any country as most

of the Prakrits and Vernaculars do ; but is merely a name which glaringly indicates the obvious contempt which was felt among the learned for it. Dandin calls it the speech of such tribes of lower culture as the Ābhīras. It appears that while yet the Prakrits were spoken languages, the Ābhīras and similar nomadic tribes that were long regarded as Mlecchas distorted the same as they could not well pronounce the Prakrit words, adding at the same time some words of purely local origin to the Prakrit vocabulary. This distorted form of the language current among the Ābhīras and other lower tribes in course of time became a separate language altogether, and obtained a significant name at the hands of the speakers of Prakrit and Sanskrit languages. As the Ābhīras were 'a hated tribe, free-booters and Mlecchas' &c. (cf. Gune, Intro. to Bhavisayattakahā, p. 59), the form of the Prakrit language which they spoke was contemptuously called 'the degraded' or 'the degenerated'. Even today the distorted form of English spoken by (') the fruitwalla of Byculla receives the nickname 'Byculla English' and the Marathi that is spoken to their servants (' Rāmas ') by their Gujarati and Parsee employers is popularly known as the ' Rāmā Marathi '. This ' degraded form ' of the Prakrit or even of Sanskrit (cf. Kāvya-darśa, I. 36) included many different dialects which in course of time were raised to the status of a literary language. At this time the name lost its former significance and came merely to signify a particular kind of Prakrit. It is indeed difficult to say when this transformation actually took place ; but already in the latter half of the sixth century A. D., Guhasena of Valabhī is described as ' clever in composing works in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa languages ' (cf. I. A. X, p. 284). Works written in the language available today, however, are from the 8th or 9th century A. D. and afterwards. In the 12th century of the Christian Era, Hemacandra had already assigned a part of his grammar to it, treating it at great length and with due respect. In his Chandonuśāsana again, he defines a very large number of Apabhramśa metres. In this connection, however, it is worth noting that Hemacandra does not quote from existing Apabhramśa literature as might be expected, but composes his own illustrations of the different metres. There may have been various reasons for this. The first and the most probable one is that he thought it deroga-

gatory for a man of his ability to compose poetry, merely to quote from older writers. Besides, according to his peculiar method adopted throughout his Chandonuśisana, it was necessary that the illustration of every metre should contain its name by what is known as 'Mudrālakṣaṇa'. This meant that the illustrations of the Apabhramśa metres had to be composed by him like those of the Sanskrit and Prakrit ones. But it is also possible to think that Hemacandra had no access to a sufficiently large number of works written in Apabhramśa either because there did not exist many or — which is a more probable hypothesis — because they did not enjoy a sufficiently wide circulation among the learned Pandits of Jainism on account of their prejudice against the Apabhramśa language. It is evident any how, that this prejudice among the Jain Pandits who were Yatis as a rule, seems to have gradually disappeared after the time of Hemacandra who as it were gave an official recognition to the language so far as the Śvetāmbaras were concerned. It is after Hemacandra alone that we find Jain Yatis writing freely in this language.

18 My conclusions in this respect appear to be generally borne out by the fact that before Hemacandra, Śrāvakas alone are found to write in the Apabhramśa language, particularly the Jain Apabhramśa which is a direct descendant of Ardhamāgadhī or Śaurasenī. We certainly have to assume that nearly every form of Prakrit has passed through what we may call the Apabhramśa stage before it finally became transformed into a vernacular. But it is questionable whether in its Apabhramśa stage it ever became a literary language through the process described above (Paras 14-15). It is quite possible that some Prakrits in their Apabhramśa stage never attained to the status of a literary language. As said above (Para 15), it is only through persons who have a literary bent of mind but who are virtually prevented from writing in the 'language of the learned' or through persons who have an extreme devotion to their mother-tongue, that the 'language of the masses' becomes a literary language. If, however, owing to peculiar circumstances, no such necessity exists for men to write in it, it is perfectly obvious that the language will not live and will be entirely lost to posterity for want of any literature written in it.

19 At present, literary records written in the Apabhramśa language by the Jainas alone are found. Those written in the Mahārāstrī Apabhramśa are not yet discovered and I venture to assert that they may never be discovered since I believe they do not exist, at least on a large scale. The Vernacular descended from the Mahārāstrī Apabhramśa is Marathi. It is generally spoken by the Hindus (non-Jains); the inference is that the Mahārāstrī Apabhramśa too was usually spoken by the Hindus. And since the literary-minded Hindus were not as much prevented from using the literary languages as their brothers the Jain Śrāvakas were (see above Para 14), there was not a sufficiently strong motive for them to employ their Mother-tongue i. e. the Mahārāstrī Apabhramśa as a medium for expressing their literary thoughts.

20 From the above discussion it will be clear that the Apabhramśa like other Prakrits and Vernaculars was regarded as unfit to be employed by the learned for a long time in the early centuries of the Christian Era. It is at this time that our Nadiṭḍhaya must have flourished.

॥ अथ नन्दिताढ्यकृतं गाथालक्षणम् ॥

[Verses marked with asterisks are doubtful, see Introduction Sections 7-10]

नमिऊण चलणजुअलं नेमिजिणिंदस्स भावओ पयओ ।
गाहालक्खणमेयं वुच्छामि गुरुवणसेणं ॥ १ ॥

[नत्वा चरणयुगुलं नेमिजिनेन्द्रस्य भावतः प्रयतः ।
गाथालक्षणमेतद्वक्ष्यामि गुरुपदेशेन ॥ १ ॥]

गुरुलहुअअक्खराणं छेइत्थं माइयं च वुच्छामि ।
पुव्वायरियकयाणं पाइयकवोवओगीणं ॥ २ ॥

[गुरुलब्धक्षराणां छेदार्थं मातृकां च वक्ष्यामि ।
पूर्वाचार्यकृतानां प्राकृतकाव्योपयोगिनाम् ॥ २ ॥]

आईऊणओअं एए गुरुअक्खरा मुणेयव्वा ।
अइउत्ति य लहुयाई संजोयपरो य जो वन्नो ॥ ३ ॥

[आईऊणओअं एतानि गुर्वक्षराणि ज्ञातव्यानि ।
अइउ इति च लघूनि संयोगपरश्च यो वर्णः ॥ ३ ॥]

एओक्कारपराइं अंकारपरं च पाइए नत्थि ।
वसयारुमज्झयाणि य कचवग्गतवग्गनिहणाइं ॥ ४ ॥
[एओक्कारपरे अंकारपरं च प्राकृते नास्ति ।
वसकारमध्यगते च कचवर्गतवर्गनिधनानि ॥ ४ ॥]

दीहं साणुस्सारं संजोयपरं च अंतिमेहं च ।
एयाइं जाण गुरुअक्खराइं सेसाइं लहुयाइं ॥ ५ ॥
[दीर्घं सानुस्वारं संयोगपरं चान्तिमं च ।
एतानि जानीहि गुर्वक्षराणि शेषाणि लघूनि ॥ ५ ॥]

सव्वाए गाहाए सत्तावन्ना हवंति मत्ताओ ।
अग्गद्धंमि य तीसा सत्तावीसा य पच्चद्धे ॥ ६ ॥
[सर्वस्या गाथायाः सप्तपञ्चाशद्भवन्ति मात्राः ।
अग्रार्धे च त्रिंशत् सप्तविंशतिश्च पञ्चार्धे ॥ ६ ॥]

सव्वाए गाहाए सोलस अंसा अवस्स कायव्वा ।
तेरस चउरोमत्ता दोय डुमत्तेगमत्तो य ॥ ७ ॥
[सर्वस्या गाथायाः षोडशांशा अवश्यं कर्तव्याः ।
त्रयोदश चतुर्मात्रा द्वौ च द्विमात्रावेकमात्रश्च ॥ ७ ॥]

सत्त सरा कमलंता नहघणछट्ठा विभेहया विस्समे ।
तह बीयद्धे गाहाछट्ठं सो एगमत्तो य ॥ ८ ॥
[सप्त शराः कमलान्ता नभोधनषष्ठाः विमेघा विषमे ।
तथा द्वितीयार्धे गाथाषष्ठांश एकमात्रश्च ॥ ८ ॥]

जा पढमतइयपंचमसत्तमअंसेसु होइ गुरुमज्झा ।
गुव्विणिया विणु पइणा गाहा दोसं पयासेइ ॥ ९ ॥
[या प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमसप्तमांशेषु भवति गुरुमध्या ।
गुर्विणी विना पत्या गाथा दोषं प्रकाशयति ॥ ९ ॥]

जीसे न एगवीसा न य चउवीसा न एगवन्ना सा ।
मत्ता भवेइ लहुई सा जाण विणस्सए गाहा ॥ १० ॥
[यस्या नैकविंशतितमी न च चतुर्विंशतितमी नैकपञ्चाशत्तमी सा ।
मात्रा भवति लघ्वी सा जानीहि विनश्यति गाथा ॥ १० ॥]

जह वाणी तह पाणी वियरइ छंदंमि गुरुयलहुएहिं ।
जत्थ विलंबए वाणी पाणीवि विलंबए तत्थ ॥ ११ ॥

[यथा वाणी तथा पाणिर्विचरति छन्दसि गुरुलघुभिः ।
यत्र विलम्बते वाणी पाणिरपि विलम्बते तत्र ॥११॥]

पदमइय(?)तइयपंचमसत्तमअंसा चउविहा हुति ।
दोगुरुनिहणाइगुरु सव्वलहु चैव अविरुद्धा ॥१२॥

[प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमसत्तमांशाश्चतुर्विधा भवन्ति ।
द्विगुरुनिधनादिगुरवः सर्वलघुश्चैवाविरुद्धाः ॥१२॥

एए चैव वियप्पा बीयचउत्थेसु मज्झगुरुसाहिया ।
छट्ठोत्थ नवरि अंसो गुरुमज्झो सव्वलहुओ वा ॥ १३ ॥

[एते चैव विकल्पा द्वितीयचतुर्थयोर्मध्यगुरुसहिताः ।
षष्ठोत्र केवलमंशो गुरुमध्यः सर्वलघुर्वा ॥ १३ ॥]

गाहासुं च समाइं खंधयकव्वेसु तह य विसमाइं ।
नत्थि लहुअक्खराइं छंदमि ठविज्जमाणाइं ॥ १४ ॥

[गाथासु च समानि स्कन्धककाव्येषु तथा च विषमानि ।
न सन्ति लघ्वक्षराणि छन्दसि स्थाप्यमानानि ॥ १४ ॥

* गाहाउदाहरणं जहा —

वीरवर सभमराणं कमलदलाणं च तुम्ह नयणाणं ।
मुणिवइ मुणियविसेसा अच्छीसु तुहं रमइ लच्छी ॥ १५ ॥

[वीरवर सभ्रमराणां कमलदलानां च युष्माकं नयनानाम् ।
मुनिपते ज्ञातविशेषा अक्षणार्युष्माकं रमते लक्ष्मीः ॥ १५ ॥]

पढमो वारहमत्तो बीओ अट्टारसासु मत्तासु ।
जह पढमो तह तइओ पन्नरसविभूसिया गाहा ॥ १६ ॥

[प्रथमो द्वादशमात्रो द्वितीयोष्टादशसु मात्रासु ।
यथा प्रथमस्तथा तृतीयः ; पञ्चदशविभूषिता गाथा ॥ १६ ॥]

गाहत्ति ताव सिद्धं होइ विरामेण सा पुणो दुविहा ।
पच्छा विउला अंसयवसेण चवलावि सा ति विहा ॥ १७ ॥

[गाथेति तावत्सिद्धं भवति विरामेण सा पुनर्द्विविधा ।
पथ्या विपुला अंशकवशेन चपलापि सा त्रिविधा ॥ १७ ॥]

जीसे बारसमत्तो पढमो तइओ य द्दो समा पाया ।
सा पच्छा; विउला उण उणाहियपायसंजुत्ता ॥ १८ ॥

[यस्या द्वादशमात्रः प्रथमस्तृतीयश्च द्वौ समौ पादौ ।
सा पथ्या विपुला पुनरूनाधिकपादसंयुक्ता ॥ १८ ॥]

गुरुमज्झा मज्झगया गुरुयाणं दुण्ह दुण्ह जत्थं सा ।
बीयचउत्थ य जुत्ता दोसुवि अद्धेसु सा चवला ॥ १९ ॥

[गुरुमध्यौ मध्यगतौ गुर्वोर्द्वयोर्द्वयोर्ध्वौ सा ।
द्वितीयश्चतुर्थश्च युक्तौ द्वयोरप्यर्धयोः सा चपला ॥ १९ ॥]

जीसे दो पुरिमद्धे मुहचवला नाम सा भवे गाहा ।
जहणचवला य निहणे वुच्छामि निदरसणाइं से ॥ २० ॥

[यस्या द्वौ पूर्वार्धे मुखचपला नाम सा भवेदूगाथा ।
जघनचपला च निधने वक्ष्यामि निदर्शनान्यस्याः ॥ २० ॥]

पच्छोदाहरणं जहा —

निउणं जिणषयणसुइं जे विय जाणांति जे विय करिंति ।
सा तेसिं पुरिसाणं निययं पच्छा हवइ पच्छा ॥ २१ ॥
[निपुणं जिनवचनश्रुतिं ये चैव जानन्ति ये चैव कुर्वन्ति ।
सा तेषां पुरुषाणां नियतं पश्चाद्भाति पथ्या ॥ २१ ॥]

विउलोदाहरणं जहा —

जरमरणरोगकलिकलुसविविहसंसारसागराहि नरं ।
तारिज्ज नवरि जिणसत्थवाहवयणं तरी विउला ॥ २२ ॥
[जरामरणरोगकलिकलुषविविधसंसारसागराक्षरम् ।
तारयत्केवलं जिनसार्थवाहवचनं तरी विपुला ॥ २२ ॥]

सव्वचवलोदाहरणं जहा —

तेसिं न दुल्लहाइं सुहाइं जे वीरसासनपवन्ना ।
दंता तवेण जुत्ता सुए य धित्तव्वए चवला ॥ २३ ॥
[तेषां न दुर्लभानि सुखानि ये वीरशासनप्रपन्नाः ।
दान्तास्तपसा युक्ताः श्रुते च ग्रहीतव्ये चपलाः ॥ २३ ॥]

मुहचवला जहा —

भइं दमीसराणं जिइंदिया जे जिणद्वयणन्नू ।
वयणाइं कुहम्मिणं हणांति नयहेउमुहचवला ॥ २४ ॥
[भद्रं दमीश्वराणां जितेन्द्रिया ये जिनेन्द्रवचनज्ञाः ।
वचनानि कुधर्माणां ग्नन्ति नयहेतुमुखचपलाः ॥ २४ ॥]

जहणचवला यथा—

जिणवयणमुवगयाणं न हरइ हिययाइं महलिया कावि ।
णिचंचंपि जा सुरूवा हविज्ज जा जहणचवलावि ॥२५॥
[जिनवचनमुपगतानां न हरति हृदयानि महिला कापि ।
नित्यमपि या सुरूपा भवेद्या जघनचपलापि ॥२५॥]

*गीई जहा—

हा हियय किं विसूरसि रूवं दहूण परकलत्ताण ।
पावेण नवीर लिप्पसि पावं पाविहिसि तं न पाविहसि ॥२६॥
[हा हृदय किं खिद्यसे रूपं दृष्ट्वा परकलत्राणाम् ।
पापन केवलं लिप्यसे पापं प्राप्स्यसि तां न प्राप्स्यसि ॥२६॥]

*उग्गीई जहा—

थणदोहलिया बाला भरइव लावन्नसलिलोहं ।
रमणालवालनिगयरोमावलिवल्लरिं च सिंचेइ ॥२७॥
[स्तनद्विघटा बाला बिधर्तीव लावण्यसलिलौघम् ।
रमणालवालनिर्गतरोमावलिवल्लरिं च सिञ्चाति ॥२७॥]

*उवगीई जहा—

जाओ हरइ कलत्तं वहुंतो भोयणं हरइ ।
अत्थं हरइ समत्थो पुत्तसमो वेरिओ नत्थि ॥२८॥
[जातो हरति कलत्रं वर्धमानो भोजनं हरति ।
अर्थं हरति समर्थः पुत्रसमो वैरी नास्ति ॥२८॥]

*संकीण्णोदाहरणं जहा—

अप्पिज्जउ जणयसुया अणुणिज्जउ राहओ पयत्तेण ।
आयद्धियचावकरा जाव न पाविंति दुज्जया रामसरा ॥२९॥
[अपर्यतां जनकसुता अनुनीयतां राघवः प्रयत्नेन ।
आकृष्टचापकरात् यावन्न प्राप्नुवन्ति दुर्जया रामशराः ॥२९॥]

*गाथोदाहरणं जहा—

पुव्वं कहासु सुव्वइ लक्खं किर देइ विक्रमाइच्चो ।
पणयकुवियाइ सुन्दरि सवायलक्खं तण दिन्नं ॥३०॥
[पूर्वं कथासु श्रूयते लक्षं किल ददाति विक्रमादित्यः ।
प्रणयकुपितया सुन्दरि सपादलक्षं त्वया दत्तम् ॥३०॥]

जह वेसाण न नेहो जह सच्चं नत्थि कामुयजणस्स ।
तह नंदियद्वभणिणं जिह किह तिह पाइए नत्थि ॥३१॥

[यथा वेस्यानां न स्नेहो यथा सत्यं नास्ति कामुकजनस्य ।
तथा नन्दिताढ्यभणिते जिह किह तिह प्राकृते नास्ति ॥३१॥]

विप्पी खत्तिणि वइसी सुट्ठीसहिया य हुंति चत्तारि ।
छंदं निदरिसणं विय वुच्छामि अओपरं तासिं ॥३२॥

[विप्रा क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रासहिता च भवन्ति चत्वारि ।
छन्दो निदर्शनमपि च वक्ष्याम्यतः परं तासाम् ॥३२॥]

सव्वगुरुएहि विप्पी आइमगुरुएहिं खत्तिणी होई ।
अंतिमगुरुहिं वइसी सुट्ठी सव्वेसु लहुणसु ॥३३॥

[सर्वगुरुकैर्विप्रा आदिगुरुभिः क्षत्रिया भवति ।
अन्तिमगुरुकैर्वैश्या शूद्रा सर्वेषु लघुकेषु ॥३३॥]

विप्पी जहा--

पंचावन्ना वच्चा गाहाणं नेय हुंति उट्ठेणं ।
तीसाए हिट्ठेणं सक्को सक्कोवि नो काउं ॥ ३४ ॥

[पञ्चपञ्चाशद्दर्णा गाथानां नैव भवन्ति ऊर्ध्वम् ।
त्रिंशतोऽधस्तात् शक्तः शक्नोति न कर्तुम् ॥ ३४ ॥]

खत्तिणी जहा—

कुंभारी लोहारी वाणीए चेव होइ बंधारी ।
जह किल कलववहरियय नहु हसिरय अवरकलगहणे ॥ ३५ ॥

[कुम्भकारी लोहकारी वाण्यैव भवति बन्धकारिणी ।
यथा किल कलाव्यवहारिक न खलु हसनशीलापरकलाग्रहणे ॥ ३५ ॥]

वइसी जहा—

वरकरिवर-वरहयवर-वररहवर-विलयनिवह-सुहसुहयं ।
भोत्तुं राया रज्जं पच्छा दिक्खं गहिस्सामो ॥ ३६ ॥

[वरकरिवर-वरहयवर-वररथवर-विलयानिवह-सुखसुखदम् ।
भुक्त्वा राज्ञो राज्यं पश्चाद्दीक्षां ग्रहीष्यामः ॥ ३६ ॥]

सुट्ठी जहा—

विमलजसकिरणधवलियमहियल सुरनिवहनमियकमजुअल ।
ति यणसिरिवरकुलहर मणहरगुणानिलय जिण जयहि ॥ ३७ ॥



[विमलयशःकिरणधवलितमहीतल सुरनिवहनमितक्रमयुगल ।
त्रिभुवनश्रीवरकुलगृह मनोहरगुणानिलय जिन जय ॥ ३७ ॥]

मुहजहणसयलचवला पच्छा विउला य विप्पिस्वत्तिणिया ।
वइसी सुद्धी मिस्सा दस गाहा हुंति छंदंमि ॥ ३८ ॥

[मुखजहनसकलचपला पथ्या विपुला च विप्री क्षत्रिया ।
वैश्या शूद्रा मिश्रा दश गाथा भवन्ति छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥]

* मिस्सोदाहरणं जहा—

ठाणच्चुयाण सुंदरि मंडलरहियाण विहवचत्ताण ।

थणयाण सुपुरिसाण य को हत्थं देइ पडियाण ॥ ३९ ॥

[स्थानच्युतानां सुन्दरि मण्डलरहितानां त्यक्तविभवानाम् ।
स्तनकानां सुपुरुषाणां च को हस्तं ददाति पतितानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥]

अथवा छवीसं भेया गाहाणं जहा—

कमला ललिया लीला जुण्हा रंभा य मागही लच्छी ।

विज्जू माला हंसी ससिलेहा जणहवी सुद्धा ॥ ४० ॥

[कमला ललिता लीला ज्योत्स्ना रम्भा च मागधी लक्ष्मीः ।
वियुत् माला हंसी शशिलेखा जाह्नवी शुद्धा ॥ ४० ॥]

काली कुमरी मेधा सिद्धी रिद्धी य कुमुदणी धरणी ।

जक्खिणी वीणा बंभी गंधवी मंजरी गौरी ॥ ४१ ॥

[काली कुमारी मेधा सिद्धिर्ऋद्धिश्च कुमुदिनी धरणी ।
यक्षिणी वीणा ब्राह्मी गन्धर्वी मञ्जरी गौरी ॥ ४१ ॥]

कमला तिहिलहुएहिं ललिया पंचेहिं एवमाईओ ।

बिहिविहिं बहूतेहिं कमेण सेसाउ जायंति ॥ ४२ ॥

[कमला त्रिलोकैर्ललिता पञ्चभिरवमादयः ।
द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां वर्धमानाभ्यां क्रमेण शेषा जायन्ते ॥ ४२ ॥]

इक्कक्खखरवुद्धी छंदा छवीसयं सुणेयव्वा ।

गाहाणं तीसाए पणवच्चा वड्डिया जाव ॥ ४३ ॥

[एकैकाक्षरवृद्ध्या छन्दांसि षड्विंशतिर्ज्ञातव्यानि ।
गाथानां त्रिशतेः पञ्चपञ्चाशद्यावद्वर्धितानि ॥ ४३ ॥]

तीसा जा पणवच्चा वड्डतेगक्खरोहिं जा गाहा ।

झिज्जइ गुरुयं इक्कं दो दो वड्डंति लहुआइं ॥ ४४ ॥

[त्रिंशतेःपञ्चपञ्चाशत् यावत् वर्धमानैकाक्षरेण या गाथाः ।
छिद्यते गुरुकमेकं (तत्र) द्वे द्वे वर्धते लघुके ॥ ४४ ॥]

तीसाए जं अहियं दुगुणं काऊण तिण्णि दिज्जासु ।
जित्थियमेत्तो पिंडो तित्थियमित्ताइं लहुयाइं ॥ ४५ ॥

[त्रिंशतेर्यदधिकं तद्विगुणं कृत्वा त्रीणि देहि ।
यावन्मात्रः पिण्डस्तावन्मात्राणि लघूनि ॥ ४५ ॥]

मत्तापमाणमज्झा हरित्तु सव्वक्खराइं गाहाणं ।
अवसेसं जं चिट्ठइ तित्थियमित्ताइं गुरुयाइं ॥ ४६ ॥
[मात्राप्रमाणमध्यात् हत्वा सर्वाक्षराणि गाथानाम् ।
अवशेषो यस्तिष्ठति तावन्मात्रा गुरवः ॥ ४६ ॥]

मत्ता भन्नइ करिसो करसचउक्कं पलं वियाणाहि ।
चउदसपलाइं गाहा तोलिज्जंतो सकारिसाइं ॥ ४७ ॥
[मात्रा भण्यते कर्षः कर्षचतुष्क पलं विजानीहि ।
चतुर्दशपलानि गाथा तोल्यमाना सकर्षाणि ॥ ४७ ॥]

उभओअंतगुरूहिं रहिया छट्ठंसएण वीयद्धे ।
सेसा तेरस अंसा विसमसमा तेसु अहिगारो ॥ ४८ ॥
[उभयतोन्तगुरुभ्यां रहिताः षष्ठांशेन (च) द्वितीयाद्धे ।
शेषास्त्रयोदशांशा विषमसमास्तेष्वधिकारः ॥ ४८ ॥]

पढमाई चउभेया; वीओ तुरिओ अ हुंति पंचविहा ।
छट्ठसो दुविगप्पो गणणविही इत्थ कायव्वो ॥ ४९ ॥
[प्रथमादयश्चतुर्भेदाः; द्वितीयश्चतुर्थश्च भवतः पञ्चविधौ ।
षष्ठांशो द्विविकल्पो गणनविधिरित्थं कर्तव्यः ॥ ४९ ॥]

जो जस्स होइ उवरिं सो गुण्णो हिट्ठिमो गुणायारो ।
हिट्ठिमउवरिमगणणा नेयव्वा जाव तेरसमे ॥ ५० ॥
[यो यस्य भवत्युपरि स गुण्योऽधस्तनो गुणाकारः ।
अधस्तनोपरितनगणना नेतव्या यावत्त्रयोदशम् ॥ ५० ॥]

पत्थारवित्थराणं गाहाणं हुंति अट्ठकोडीओ ।
एकूणवीसलक्खा वीससहस्साइं सव्वगं ॥ ५१ ॥
[प्रस्तारविस्तृतानां गाथानां भवन्त्यष्टकोटयः ।
एकोनविंशतिर्लक्षा विंशतिसहस्राणि सर्वाग्रम् ॥ ५१ ॥]

*पत्थारमाणमेयं गाहोर्गीर्ण खंधएद्वगुणं ।

दुगुणं गीर्ण उवगीर्ण अद्वयं होई ॥ ५२ ॥

[प्रस्तारमानमेतद्गाथोद्गीर्णानां स्कन्धकेष्टगुणम् ।

द्विगुणं गीतावुपगीतावर्द्धकं भवति ॥ ५२ ॥]

लहुअक्खरेहिं रूवूणएहिं अट्ठीकयंमि जं सेसं ।

रूवूणं तीसजुअं अक्खररासी मुण्येव्वा ॥ ५३ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरै रूपोनिर्तैरर्द्धीकृतैर्यच्छेषम् ।

रूपोर्णं त्रिंशद्युतं (तत्) अक्षरराशिर्द्वातव्यः ॥ ५३ ॥]

एकं हाऊण लहुं तत्तो अद्धं हरित्तु सेसेण ।

अद्धेण समं भणियं नक्खत्तं सव्वगाहाणं ॥ ५४ ॥

[एकं हित्वा लघुं ततोऽर्धं हत्वा शेषेण ।

अर्धेण समं भणितं नक्षत्रं सर्वगाथानाम् ॥ ५४ ॥]

*लहुअक्खरेहिं रूवूणएहिं अट्ठीकयंमि जं सेसं ।

लब्भइ गाहाण घरं तह नामं किं वियप्पेण ॥ ५५ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरै रूपोनिर्तैरर्धीकृते यः शेषः ।

लभ्यते गाथानां गृहं तथा नाम किं विकल्पेन ॥ ५५ ॥]

छंदवसा दीहपरा कत्थवि लहुया हवन्ति पयअंते ।

एओइहिं विंदूविय रहवंजणजुत्तपुव्वो य ॥ ५६ ॥

[छन्दोवशादीर्घपरा कुत्रापि लघवो भवन्ति पदान्ते ।

एओ इहिविन्दुरिव रहव्यञ्जनयुक्तपूर्वश्च ॥ ५६ ॥]

एयारो जहा—

सायारंपिव परमेसरेण नाणं जुगाइदेवेण ।

बंभीए पयडियं नियकरेण बंभी लिवी जयइ ॥ ५७ ॥

[साकारमिव परमेश्वरेण ज्ञानं युगादिदेवेन ।

ब्राह्म्या प्रकटितं निजकरेण ब्राह्मी लिपिर्जयति ॥ ५७ ॥]

ओयारो जहा—

बालाओ हुंति कोऊहलेण एमेव चवलचित्ताओ ।

दरल्हसियथणीओ पुण धरंति मयरुद्धयरहस्सं ॥ ५८ ॥

[बाला भवन्ति कौतूहलेन एवमेव चपलचित्ताः ।

ईषत्सहसितस्तन्यः पुनर्धारयन्ति मकरध्वजरहस्यम् ॥ ५८ ॥]

इयारो विन्दुजुओ जहा—

जाइं लसंति गुणैहिं दोसासंगं च जाइं न सहंति ।
ताइं तामरसाइंव जयंति सुयणाण चरियाइं ॥ ५९ ॥

[यानि लसन्ति गुणैर्दोषासङ्गं च यानि न सहन्ते ।
तानि तामरसानीव जयन्ति सुजनानां चरितानि ॥ ५९ ॥]

हियारो विन्दुजुओ जहा—

उत्तमतिलयाहिं असोगसरलपुन्नागविहियसोहाहिं ।
जं रेहइ बाहिं वाडियाहिं अंतो कुलवडूहिं ॥ ६० ॥

[उत्तमतिलकाभिरशोकसरलपुन्नागविहितशोभाभिः ।
यद्राजते वह्निर्वाटिकाभिरन्तः कुलवधूभिः ॥ ६० ॥]

रव्वंजणसंजोए जहा—

सहि वड्डियावि गेहंमि पइखणं लालियावि दुद्धेण ।
सप्पव्व दुहंति खणेण दुज्जणा अहह अकयन्नू ॥ ६१ ॥

[स्वयं वर्धिता अपि गृहे प्रतिक्षणं लालिता अपि दुग्धेन ।
सर्पा इव दुहन्ति क्षणेन दुर्जना अहह अकृतज्ञाः ॥ ६१ ॥]

हव्वंजणसंजोए जहा—

मेरुसिहरंमि न्हाणं वत्तीसिंदेहि कणयकलसेहिं ।
किज्जंतं वीरजिणस्स तुम्ह दुरियाइं पम्हसउ ॥ ६२ ॥

[मेरुशिखरे स्नानं द्वात्रिंशदिन्द्रैः कनककलशैः ।
क्रियमाणं वीरजिनस्य युष्माकं दुरितानि प्रमार्तुं ॥ ६२ ॥]

गाहो गाहविगाहो उग्गाहो गाहिणी य खंधो य ।
छव्विहगाहाभेओ निद्धिहो नंदियट्ठेण ॥ ६३ ॥

[गाथो गाथाविगाथे उद्गाथो गाथिनी च स्कन्धश्च ।
षड्विधगाथाभेदो निर्दिष्टो नन्दिताढ्येन ॥ ६३ ॥]

गाहो चउवन्नाए सत्तावन्ना य भन्नए गाहा ।
विवरीया य विगाहा उग्गाहो सट्ठिमत्तो य ॥ ६४ ॥

[गाथश्चतुःपञ्चाशता सप्तपञ्चाशच्च भण्यते गाथा ।
विपरीता च विगाथा उद्गाथः षष्टिमात्रश्च ॥ ६४ ॥]

गाहिणि वासट्ठीए चउसट्ठीए य खंधओ भणिओ ।
एए छव्व विगप्पा गाहाछंदे विणिद्धिहा ॥ ६५ ॥

[गाथिनी द्विषष्ट्या चतुःषष्ट्या च स्कन्धको भणितः ।
एते षडेव विकल्पा गाथाछन्दसि विनिर्दिष्टाः ॥ ६५ ॥]

गाहो जहा—

वट्टंति गमणद्विहा जं भणियं तं खमिज्जासु ।
अम्हंचिय नत्थि गुणा दोषाचिय संभरिज्जासु ॥ ६६ ॥
[वर्तन्ते गमनद्विहा यद्दणितं तत्क्षमस्व ।
अस्माकमेव न सन्ति गुणा दोषानेव संस्मर ॥ ६६ ॥]

गाहोदाहरणं जहा—

जिणधम्मो मोक्खफलो सासयसुक्खो जिणेहिं पच्चत्तो ।
नरसुरसुहाइं अणुसंगयाइं इह किसि पलालं व ॥ ६७ ॥
[जिनधर्मो मोक्षफलः शाश्वतसौख्यो जिनैः प्रज्ञातः ।
नरसुरसुखानि अनुसंगतानि इह कृषौ पलालमिव ॥ ६७ ॥]

उग्गाहो जहा—

थोसामि सव्वजगजीवबंधवं अट्टकम्मनिम्महणं ।
सुरअसुरनागमहियं संतिजिणं सयललोयसंतिकरं ॥ ६८ ॥
[स्तोष्ये सर्वजगज्जीवबान्धवमष्टकर्मनिर्मथनम् ।
सुरासुरनागमहितं शान्तिजिनं सकललोकशान्तिकरम् ॥ ६८ ॥]

अन्नं च—

जइ वाससयं गोवालिया कुसुमाणिय बंधइ मालिया ।
ता किं सहावधियगंधिया कुसुमेहिं होइ सुगंधिया ॥ ६९ ॥
[यदि वर्षशतं गोपालिका कुसुमानां च बध्नाति मालिकाम् ।
तत्किं स्वभावघृतगन्धिता कुसुमैर्भवति सुगन्धिता ॥ ६९ ॥]

गाहिणी जहा—

निवडियधारा निवहो जस्स निरुद्धो फणिंदभउडेहिं ।
तं सुरमुइंदमुहलियणागिणिगिज्जंतमंगलं पासाजिणं ॥ ७० ॥
[निपतितधारानिवहो यस्य निरुद्धः फणीन्द्रमुकुटैः ।
तं सुरमृदङ्गमुखरितनागिनीगीयमानमङ्गलं पार्श्वजिनम् ॥ ७० ॥]

खंधओ जहा—

नमह भुयंदंभासुरवियडफडाडोयखलियविसहरसलिलं ।
पहयमुइंदमुहलियणागिणिगिज्जंतमंगलं पासाजिणं ॥ ७१ ॥
[नमत भुजगेन्द्रभासुरविफटफटाटोपस्खलितविषधरसलिलम् ।
प्रहतमृदङ्गासुखरितनागिनीगीयमानमङ्गलं पार्श्वजिनम् ॥ ७१ ॥]

खंधअक्खरपमाणं जहा—

लहुअक्खरं दुरहियं अद्धं च कलायवाज्जियं सेसं ।

चोत्तीसक्खरजुत्तं जायइ खंधक्खरपमाणं ॥ ७२ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरं द्विरहितमर्द्धं चैककलावर्जितं शेषम् ।

चतुस्त्रिंशदक्षरयुक्तं जायते स्कन्धाक्षरप्रमाणम् ॥ ७२ ॥]

धुय लहुअक्खर चउरो खंधे सव्वत्थं हुंति कायव्वा ।

इहरासमंजसत्तं छंदविरोहो फलमणिट्ठं ॥ ७३ ॥

[ध्रुवाणि लघ्वक्षराणि चत्वारि स्कन्धके सर्वत्र भवन्ति कर्तव्यानि ।

इतरथासमंजसत्वं छन्दोविरोधः फलमनिष्टम् ॥ ७३ ॥]

उदाहरणं—

बिंबोढीए तीए थोरा गोरा समुच्चया वक्खोआ ।

तारुण्ये संपुच्चे किं किं दुःखं न दिति कामीण ददं ॥ ७४ ॥

[बिम्बोष्ठ्यास्तस्याः स्थविरौ गौरौ समुच्चतौ वक्षोजौ ।

तारुण्ये संपूर्णे किं किं दुःखं न ददति कामिनां ददम् ॥ ७४ ॥]

अहवा—

लेहाए संनद्धो जीमूओ सव्वओ मसीसारिच्छो ।

गज्जंतो गंभीरं मत्तो हत्थिव्व एस सो पच्चक्खो ॥ ७५ ॥

[लेखया संनद्धो जीमूतः सर्वतो मषीसदृशः ।

गर्जन्गम्भीरं मत्तो हस्तीव एष स प्रत्यक्षः ॥ ७५ ॥]

*पद्धडियलक्खणं जहा—

सोलसमत्तउ जहिं पउ दीसइ । अक्खरमत्तु न किंपि गवीसइ ।

पायउ पायउ जमकविसुद्धउ । पद्धडिय तहिं छंद पसिद्धउ ॥ ७६ ॥

[षोडशमात्रो यत्र पादो दृश्यते । अक्षरमात्रा न किमपि गवेष्ट्यते ।

पादः पादो यमकविशुद्धः । पद्धडिका तत्र छन्दः प्रसिद्धम् ॥ ७६ ॥]

*तुय पुत्तिमचंदसमाणवयणि । गोरंगि चांगि सारंगनयणि ।

थणमंडलउप्परि पियह हत्थु । तं कलसि दिन्नु पंकउ पसत्थु ॥ ७७ ॥

[तव पूर्णिमाचन्द्रसमानवदने । गौराङ्गि सुन्दरि सारङ्गनयने ।

स्तनमण्डलोपरि प्रियस्य हस्तः । तत्कलशे दत्तं पङ्कजं प्रशस्तम् ॥ ७७ ॥]

चंदाणणछंदो । गंथंतरे मयणावयारदुइयनामं । लक्खणं जहा—

*निसुणि चंदसुहि चंदाणणो रूवओ

सधणु करवालु विरप्पइ तह बीअओ ।

तइयठाणेसु विज्जुज्जलो मुग्गरो
ललियगयगमणि निहणंगओ तोमरो ॥ ७८ ॥

[निशामय चन्द्रमुखि चन्द्राननो रूपकः
सधनुः करवालं विरचय तथा द्वितीयम् ।
तृतीयस्थानेषु विद्युज्ज्वलो मुद्गरो
ललितगजगमने निधनं गतस्तोमरः ॥ ७८ ॥]

*गयरद्वतुरंगपाइक्कजोहनामोहिं जाण चउमत्ता ।
बहुविहपहरणाणं पंचगमत्तं पिहुलसोणि ॥ ७९ ॥
[गजरथतुरङ्गपदातियोधनामभिर्जानीहि चतुर्मात्रान् ।
बहुविविधप्रहरणानां पञ्चकमात्रं पृथुलश्रोणि ॥ ७९ ॥]

दुवईलक्खणं जहा —

*पदमगणे कलछक्कं चउक्कला पंच हुंति कमलंता ।
गुरुमज्झसव्वलहुआ दुवईए वीयछट्ठसा ॥ ८० ॥
[प्रथमगणे कलाषट्कं चतुष्कलाः पञ्च भवन्ति कमलान्ताः ।
गुरुमध्यसर्वलघवो द्विपद्या द्वितीयषट्पांशाः ॥ ८० ॥]

उदाहरणं जहा —

*उब्भडभिउडिभंगतटवियडवियप्पकरालभालयं
निहुरदंतदट्टउट्टियसोणियपंकिलालयं ।
दिदवट्टियसरोसहुंकारपुरःसरकेसकट्टुणं
कुणउ नारिंद तुज्झ बहु संगमसंगरमिहिवट्टुणं ॥ ८१ ॥
[उद्भटभृकुटिभङ्गतटविकटविकल्पकरालभालं
निष्ठुरदन्तदट्टौष्ठस्थितशोणितपङ्किलालम् ।
ददवर्धितसरोषहुंकारपुरःसरकेशकर्षणं
करोतु नरेन्द्र तव बहु संगमसंगरं ऋद्विवर्धनम् ॥ ८१ ॥]

*वत्थुओ जहा—

दो वेया सिहिजुयलं जुयाइं दुन्निउ दुगं च वत्थुओ ।
[द्वौ वेदौ शिखियुगलं युगानि द्वे द्विके च वस्तुकम् ।]

दिवट्टुछंदलक्खणं जहा—

पनरसतेरसपनरसतेरसजुत्तो दिवदछंदो ॥ ८२ ॥
[पञ्चदशत्रयोदशपञ्चदशत्रयोदशयुक्तं सार्धछन्दः ॥ ८२ ॥]

*वत्थुओदाहरणं जहा—

कुम्भिकुम्भविभ्रमह कवण थणकलसह उप्पम
 इंदीवरदलसमह कवण नयणह सारिच्छम ।
 पारिजायलयनिभह भुअह कहि कवणह चंगिम
 सीअदेवि रूवस्स तुज्झ कसु वन्निण अग्गिम ॥
 इइ भणइ राउ दसरहतणउ । वणिवणि विलवंतउ करुणु ॥
 अहवा न वुज्ज जं जीवियउ । जं जि तं जि विम्हियकरणु ॥८३॥
 [कुम्भिकुम्भविभ्रमयोः का स्तनकलशयोरुपमा
 इन्दीवरदलसमयोः किं नयनयोः सदृशम् ।
 पारिजातलतानिभयोर्भुजयोः कुत्र (वक्ष्ये) कस्य सम्यक्त्वं
 सीतादेवि रूपस्य तव कस्य वर्णनामग्रे ॥
 इति भणति राजा दशरथतनयो । वनेवने विलपन्करुणम् ।
 अथवा नाश्चर्यं यत् जीवति । यदेव तदेव विस्मयकरणम् ॥८३॥]

*दूहालक्खणं जहा—

चउदहमत्ता दुन्निपय । पढमइ तइयइ हुंति ।
 बारहमत्ता दोचलण । दूहालक्खण कंति ॥ ८४ ॥
 [चतुर्दशमात्रा द्वयोः पादयोः प्रथमे तृतीये भवन्ति ।
 द्वादशमात्रा द्वयोश्चरणयोर्दूहालक्षणं कान्ते ॥ ८४ ॥]

*उदाहरणं यथा—

लद्धउ मित्तु भमंतएण । रयणायरु चंदेण ॥
 जो झिज्जइ झिज्जंतएण । वट्ठइ वट्ठंतेण ॥ ८५ ॥
 [लब्धं मित्रं भ्रमता । रत्नाकरश्चन्द्रेण ॥
 यो हीयते हीयमानेन । वर्धते वर्धमानेन ॥ ८५ ॥]

*उवदूहालक्खणं जहा—

तेरहमत्ता दुन्निपय । पढमइ तइयइ हुंति ॥
 बारहमत्ता अन्नदुइ । उवदूहउ इहु कंति ॥ ८६ ॥
 [त्रयोदशमात्रा द्वयोः पादयोः । प्रथमे तृतीये भवन्ति ।
 द्वादशमात्रा अन्यद्विकयोः । उपदूहक इह कान्ते ॥ ८६ ॥]

*उदाहरणं—

नंदउ वीरजिणेसरह । धरखुत्ती नहपंति ।
 दंसंती इव संगमह । नरय निरंतर गुत्ति ॥ ८७ ॥

[नन्दतु वीरजिनेश्वरस्य । धरानिमग्ना पदपङ्क्तिः ॥
दर्शयन्ती इव संगमस्य । नरको निरन्तरं स्थानम् ॥ ८७ ॥]

* बारहमत्ता विसमपय । समपय चउदह मत्त ॥
इहु अवदूहउ पंडियहु । अन्न म करिस कुवत्त ॥ ८८ ॥
[द्वादशमात्रा विषमपदयोः । समपदयोश्चतुर्दशमात्राः ॥
इति अवदूहकः पण्डिताः । अन्यां मा कुरुत कुवार्ताम् ॥ ८८ ॥]

* उदाहरणं जहा—

एक सल्लूणा सावलि । तुय थण जे संसुह, पथिय ।
जेहिं न वंकइ वयणइ । लगतेहिं नहेहिं कय ॥ ८९ ॥
[शृणु सलावण्ययोः श्यामले । तव स्तनयोर्यै सन्मुखाः पथिकाः ।
(तै) र्यथा (तथा) न वक्राणि वदनानि । लग्नैर्नखैः कृतानि ॥ ८९ ॥]

अथोपदूहकनामान्याह—

* भमरुभामरु समरु संचालु । मयरंदउ मक्कडउ ॥
नलु मरालु मयगलु पयोहरु ॥ ९० ॥
× × × ×
ए नामाई दोहाहं मयरु । मच्छु कच्छघउ गोहरु ॥ ९१ ॥

* होइ हु छव्वीसक्खरउ । दोहउ बिहुलहुएहिं ॥
अक्खरि अक्खरि वे चडहिं । भमराइयनामेहिं ॥ ९२ ॥
[भवाति खलुः षड्विंशत्यक्षरो । दोहको द्वाभ्यां लघुभ्याम् ।
अक्षरे अक्षरे द्वौ वर्धते । भ्रमरादिकनामभिः ॥ ९२ ॥]

* आद्योदाहरणं—

वे गोरा वे सामला । वे रत्ता निप्पंक ।
वे नीला हेमप्पदा । सेसा मायामुक्क ॥ ९३ ॥
[द्वौ गौरौ द्वौ श्यामलौ । द्वौ रक्तौ निष्पङ्क्तौ ।
द्वौ नीलौ, हेमप्रभौ । शेषा मायामुक्ताः ॥ ९३ ॥]

* अन्योदाहरणं जहा—

वियसियजरुहदलनयण । हिमकरकरसरिसतणु ॥
सरसइससहरसमवयण । पणमहु जिण ज(जि?)णियतणु ॥ ९४ ॥
[विकसितजरुहदलनयनं । हिमकरकरसदृशतनुम् ।
सरसिज-शशधरसमवदनं । प्रणमत जिनं जिततनुम् ॥ ९४ ॥]

*सिलोयलक्त्वनं जहा—

पंचमं लघुयं सत्त्वं सत्तमं दुचउत्थए ॥

छठं पुण गुरुं सत्त्वं सिलोयं विति पांडिया ॥ ९५ ॥

[पञ्चमं लघुकं सर्वं सत्तमं द्विचतुर्थयोः ।

षष्ठं पुनर्गुरुकं सर्वं श्लोकं ब्रुवन्ति पण्डिताः ॥ ९५ ॥]

*उदाहरणं जहा—

पोसेउ पंचमो चक्की सोलसो मे जिणो जसं ।

चकं च धम्मचक्रं च जस्साइच्चोव्व सेवइ ॥ ९६ ॥

[पुष्पातु पञ्चमश्चक्की षोडशो मे जिनो यशः ।

चक्रं च धर्मचक्रं यस्यादित्य इव सेवेते ॥ ९६ ॥]

॥ इति नन्दियद्वसूत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

NOTES

[N. B. :— VJS. = Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya, JBBRAS. New Series, Vol. V. Hemacandra = Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, printed at N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912, by Devakarana Mulaji. Piṅgala = Prakrit Piṅgala, Kāvya-mālā edition.]

V. 3 :— संयोगेन परः प्रकृष्टः क्षमया परः क्षमापर इतिवत् । सोपि लघुर्ज्ञेयः ।
— Com. in A. संयोगपरः here means 'a conjunct consonant' and not 'a letter which precedes conjunction.' In v. 5, the word is used in this latter meaning. Perhaps we should supply सोपि गुरुः in the last line.

V. 4 :— The letters ऐ, औ (एओकारपराइ), अः, श, ष (वसयारमज्झयाइ) and ङ, ञ, न are not employed in Prakrit.

V. 8 :— शराश्रवतुर्मात्रारूपा अंशाः । कमलान्ता रुर्वन्ताः । नभोधनषष्टाः चतुर्लघु-
मध्यगुरुषष्टाः । विमेषकाः विगतमध्यगुरुवः विषमस्थाने । — A.

Vv. 9-10 :— A गुरुमध्य चतुर्मात्र (ISI) should not be used in uneven ganas of a Gāthā. 21st and 24th Mātrā must be short i. e. must consist of a short letter. Since the sixth Gana is either IIII or ISI. See above V. 8, so also the 51st Mātrā must be short as the sixth gapa of the second half is made up of a single short letter,

- V. 11 :— पाणिशब्दोऽशवाच्येव न हस्तवाची — A.
- V. 12 :— This explains V. 9.
- V. 14 :— The number of short letters in a Gāthā is always odd and not even; that in a Skandhaka is always even and never odd; cf. VJS. III. 3-5, 10.
- V. 16 :— B reads दसंपंचविंशसिया for पञ्चरस०.
- V. 19 :— चपला i. e. सर्वचपला.
- V. 21 :— पूर्वपथ्यापरपथ्याभेदः स्वयम्भूच्छन्दसो ज्ञेयः -- A.
- Vv. 21-25 :— It should be noted that the illustrations contain the name of the particular variety by Mudrālamkāra. In v. 24, B reads वयणेनं for वयणन्.
- Vv. 26-30 :— See Intro., Para 9; in v. 26, A reads जं कज्जं तं न पाविहिसि. This reading is not metrically correct. In v. 27, C seems to read सरइव for भरइव. On V. 29, it remarks :—‘ मन्दोदरी रावणं प्रति कथयति ’; this would show that the source of the quotation was known to the author of the Avacūri. On the same verse, A says :— एतल्लक्षणं स्वयम्भूच्छन्दसो ज्ञेयम् । B reads °चावसरा for चावकरा in second line.
- V. 30 :— सवायलक्खं = सपादलाक्षं = सालक्तकं पदं.
- V. 31 :— ननु गाथाच्छन्दः शास्त्रमिदम् । गाथा च शुद्धप्राकृतएव भवति । ततश्च जिह किह तिहेत्यादयोऽपभ्रंशाः स्थुर्नवा इत्याशङ्कान् परिहरन्नाह -- A.
- V. 35 :— The meaning of the verse is not quite clear. I give the two interpretations of the two Avacūris :— ‘ शब्द-मात्रेणैव आसां विजातित्वं न त्वपरकलाग्रहणे । एता अपि सुजातय इव शोभन्ते । तस्मादुत्तमजातिरिति स्मयो न न्याय्यः कलाकौशलमेव प्रमाणम् । कलाव्यवहारिक इसनशील इत्यामन्त्रणद्वयं कस्याप्यात्मबहुमानिनः । — A.
- ‘ कुम्भारिका लोहारिका तत्समानवाण्या भाषया जल्पन् सन् पुमान् पापसंबन्धकारी भवति । यथा किल व्यवहियते सत्यर्थे तथैव अपरकला-रहिता लोकैरुपहस्यते — C. In v. 36, C reads निलयनिबह for विलयनिबह.
- Vv. 45-46 :— These verses give the method of finding out the number of short and long letters in any one of the above-mentioned varieties. Count the letters of the

Gāthā; take out 30 from the number and multiply the remainder by 2 and add 3 to it. The total number thus obtained is the number of *short* letters in the Gāthā. To find out the number of *long* letters in a Gāthā, count the number of Mātrās and deduct from it the total number of letters in the Gāthā; the remainder represents the total number of *long* letters.

V. 48 :— उभयोऽन्त 'Except the long letters at the end of each half and the sixth Amśa in the second half'. For this line, there is another reading noticed by the Avacūri in A. It is 'उभयोऽन्तिमकमलयरुहिया लङ्गस वीयअद्धमि'. उभयस्मिन्तर्ध्वेप्यन्तिमकमलाभ्यां षष्ठंशेन च । प्राकृतत्वादालोपः । क द्वितीयार्धे &c. द्वितीयपाठस्तु न्याय्य इति गायार्थः । on V. 49, the Ava. in C. quotes :— चउपंचचारिपंच य चउदोचत्तारि इक्कचउपंच । चउपंचचारिइक्काचउइक्का हुंति गाहाणं । See above Vv. 7-13.

Vv. 50-51 :— These stanzas give the total number of the kinds of Gāthās. It is 81920000 and is obtained by multiplying the figures representing the possible varieties of each of the 13 Amśas.

V. 52 :— The total number given above is naturally that of Gāthā and Udgiti. In a Skandhaka it is eight times as much. In Gīti it is twice as much and in Upagīti it is only half as much. The verse is not found in Ms. B; see Intro. Para 10.

V. 53 :— This gives a method to find out the number of letters in a Gāthā. Deduct 1 from the number of short letters in a given Gāthā and divide the remainder by 2. Again deduct 1 and add 30; the number that is obtained is that of the letters. रूप = 1.

Vv. 54-55 :— It appears that the names of the Naksatras are given to these different varieties of the Gāthā. That which contains the smallest number of short letters is Aśvinī and so on. Thus the Naksatra-name of a Gāthā is found out by deducting 1 from the number of short letters and dividing the remainder by 2. The number obtained is the number of the Naksatra

whose name the Gāthā has. Cf. अयं भावार्थः । विंशदक्षराणां गाथायाः नियमेन त्रयो लघवस्तेषामेकोपसार्यते शेषौ द्वौ तयोरप्यर्थमेकस्तेन लब्धमायमभ्विनीनक्षत्रमेवं सर्वास्तु गाथास्तु । — A. V. 55 is not found in B. It merely says that by the same method (i. e. given in V. 53) we find the serial number and the name (viz. कमला, ललिता &c.) of a Gāthā.

Cf. परं = ग्रहं प्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयादिसंख्यास्थानं नाम च कमला-ललिया इत्याद — A. किं विस्पेण — 'why doubt'?

V. 56 :— This is really an exception to V. 5. It says that for the sake of metre, the following six letters, which are ordinarily long must be regarded as short when they stand at the end of a word (पयअंते) and are preceded by a long letter (दीर्घपराः). The six are ए, ओ, इं, हिं (इबिन्दु and हिविन्दु) रव्यंजनयुक्तवर्णपूर्व and ह्रस्व्यंजनयुक्तवर्णपूर्व i.e. letters preceding the conjunct consonants formed by र and ह.

V. 57 :— Here the ए in वंभीए is to be pronounced as short. The Verse according to Avacūri in A is from रोहिणी-चरित.

V. 58 :— Here ओ in वालाओ is short. For दरुहसियथाणिओ पुण, A reads दरुहसियथाणिओपुण, where ओ in थाणओ is short.

V. 59 :— For सहाति A reads हसन्ति. Here इं in जाइं (2) and ताम-रसाइं is short. The Verse, acc. to A is from पुष्पदन्तचरित.

V. 60 :— Here हिं in तिलयाहिं and in वाडियाहिं is short. Even this Verse is from पुष्पदन्तचरित acc. to A.

V. 61 :— Here व् though it precedes the conjunct consonant ढु, is short. The verse is from शतपथालंकार गाथासहस्र, acc. to A.

V. 62 :— Here मि though it precedes ह्न is short. For पल्लसउ C reads पल्लडउ, as is clear from 'प्रस्फोटयतु दूरीकरोतु.' B reads पल्लसइ.

V. 66 second half :— 'There are no virtues in us; you may remember even our faults.'

V. 67 :— A reads मुखस् for मोक्ख and B reads अह for इह. After the example of गाहा we expect that of बिगाहा before

उग्गाह. Neither A nor B contains it. C seems to contain it; the Avacūri runs as follows :— “ त्रिगाथा यथा— षण० । जिणाण.चलण पुनः पुनः प्रणमत । किं० चलणे । प्रणत-सुरेश्वरशीर्षे सुकुटकोटिमिश्रीकृते । किं० जिनानां संसारसमुद्र पोत-प्राप्तानाम् । ”—

Vv. 68-69 :— V. 68 is an example of ऊद्गाथ or गीति. V. 69 also is an example of the same metre. In the second case, however, it appears to consist of four equal lines of 15 Mātrās each, instead of the usual 12+18; 12+18. The author, however, thinks that a Gāthā,— hence a Giti — consists of two halves only (cf. v. 6), and not of four Pādas as is done by some (but also cf. v. 16, 18). Any metre, therefore, having two halves with 30 Mātrās in each must be regarded as गीत irrespective of the यात. In the present example the यात occurs after the 15th Mātrā. Four metres of this type have been noticed by Hemacandra on p. 43b, line 11 ff. They are (1) हरिणीकुल with the यति after the 12th and 20th Mātrās; (2) गीतिसम with the यति after the 10th and 18th Mātrās; (3) अमररुत with the यति as in गीतिसम but the line made of 5 षणमात्रs; and (4) हरिणीपद, the line of which is made up of 1 षणमात्र and the remaining चतुमात्रs. It should, nevertheless, be noted that our example must be regarded as a metre with four lines as is clear from the rhyme and the Yati and in this respect may be compared with the पद्मिनी-द्विपदी of विरहाङ्क. Cf. VJS. III. 10. कुसुमाणिय— कुसुमा आणिय ? कुसुमा णिय ? or कुसुमाण य ? C remarks :— ‘ तस्या मनो घृतगन्धेन युज्यते न कुसुमेषु । ’

V. 70 :— Supply नमत. A notices another reading, i. e. ‘ धारा पडंतिानवहा ’ Cf. इत्यत्र निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं नपततीति प्राप्तप्राकृतत्वादिलोमः पदन्यासः । न्याय्यस्तु पाठो ‘ निवडियधारानविहोति । स चार्थात्कमठः मेघट्टिरिति । सुइंद — drum.

V. 71 :— C. reads णमह for नमह.

V. 72 :— The Verse gives the method to find out the total number of letters in a Skandhaka metre. Deduct 2 from the number of short letters and the remainder

should be halved; again 1 should be deducted from the sum which is thus obtained and 34 added to it. The resulting figure is the required number of letters. Our author does not give the different varieties of स्कन्धक. Cf. E. g. VJS. IV. 9-12; Pingala I. 63-65; Hemacandra, p. 28 b, line 14 ff. C. has a Verse after v. 72; the commentary on this is as follows :—
'स्कन्धककाव्ये लघ्वक्षरप्रमाणमाह — चउ० । यावन्त्यक्षराणि सर्वाणि भवन्ति स्कन्धे तेषां मध्याच्चतुस्त्रिंशदक्षराणि दूरीक्रियन्ते । यानि शेषाणि तिष्ठन्ति तानि द्विगुणीक्रियन्ते । चत्वारि मध्ये क्षिप्यन्ते । एवं कृते सति लघुकाक्षरनिर्देशो भवति ।'

v. 73 :— In any स्कन्धक variety, the least number of short letters that is possible is 4; since in each half we have a नरेन्द्र group; cf. note on VJS. IV. 9-12.

vv. 74-75 :— Two examples of स्कन्धक. The first contains 6 short letters, while the second has only 4. In v. 73 B and C read थेरा for थोरा, and in v. 74 हेलाए for लेहाए.

v. 76 ff :— See introduction. This and the following stanzas do not seem to belong to the original text. B reads v. 75 after v. 76.

v. 76 :— पद्दात Metre; cf. Hemacandra, p. 26 b, line 6 ff. and 43 a, line 9 ff. The metre consists of four rhymed lines with 16 Mātrās in each.

v. 78 :— The author defines the चन्द्रानन metre which is also called by the name मदनावतार in other works. Here Ratnacandra quotes the following :— 'मयणावयार छंदो पंचकल गणोहिं, चउहिं नायवोति' । I am unable to trace the source of the quotation. For the metre, cf. Hemacandra. p. 33 b, line 2 ff. &c.

v. 79 :— This is quoted from VJS. I. 17; the address to a wife (पिह्लसोणि) is appropriate in the original. Acc. to VJS. गज, रथ, तुरङ्ग or पदात are all names of a चतुर्मात्र in general irrespective of letters of which it is made up. Ratnacandra, however, comments thus :— अत्रैतत्पञ्च- (चतुर्)मात्रकसज्ञां दशयन्नाह गयरह० । तद्यथा सर्वगुरुर्गजः । आदि- गुरु रथः । अन्तगुरुस्तुरङ्गः । मध्यगुरुः पदातिः । सवगुरुयाधः । &c.

- V. 80 :— This gives the definition of a द्विपदी. Cf. Hemacandra p. 32 a, line 15 ff. The metre has four lines. In each we get 6 + five 4s + S. Of these seven Amśas, the 2nd and the 6th are either of the *गुरुमध्य* (ISI) or of the *सर्वलङ्घ* (IIII) type.
- V. 81 :— In the first line, C reads कडप्प for वियप्प; कडप्प means कटाक्ष.
- V. 82 :— वस्तुक is also called वस्तुवदनक, cf. Hema. p. 37 a, line 1 ff. The special restrictions regarding the metre given in Hemacandra are not mentioned by our author. Acc. to him 24 Mātrās alone are necessary in a line. वेद = 4; शिखि = 3; यग = 4; द्विक = 2. The second half of the stanza defines the दिवह or सार्धच्छन्दः which is made up of a वस्तुक and a कुंकुम or a कर्पूर उल्लालक. Cf. K. D. II. 33 and Hemacandra, p. 34 a, line 4 ff. and 7 ff.
- V. 83 :— बुज्ज (B reads बुज्जु and C ज्ज) = श्रव्यै (?). I do not know the word. The stanza looks like a quotation.
- V. 84 ff. :— The author gives the definitions of दोहा V. 84; उपदाहक V. 86 and अवदोहक V. 88ff.
- V. 87 :— C. comments on this verse thus :— ‘वीरजिनेन्द्रस्य कायो-त्सगास्थतस्य धरायां पृथ्व्यां निलीना नखपङ्क्तिर्नन्दतु । उत्प्रेक्ष्यते । संगमकाभिधानस्याभयस्य नरके निरन्तरं गुप्तिं नरक निश्चलयासं दर्शयन्तीव । अभयत्वात् ।’ संगमक is a proper name. But in what context does the stanza occur ?
- V. 89 :— A has a variety of readings for this stanza. सामालि for सावलि; त्य for तुय; संमुहपंथिय for समुहयथिय of C and B; जेह for जेहि of B; and नहेहि for न तेहि.
- Vv. 90-92 :— V. 91 is incomplete. The names are slightly different from those of Pingala I. 67.
- V. 93 :— ‘Out of the 24 तौथकर, the complexion of two is white; that of the other two is dark-blue; that of the third pair is red; that of the fourth is blue and that of the remaining 16 is golden.’

v. 94 :— A reads जणियतणु for जणियताणु of B and C. A's reading is surely the correct one since in the example no long letter is expected. But what is जणियतणु? It should be जणियतणु = जित-वशीकृत-तनुः ।

v. 95 :— The author gives the definition of श्लोक last of all.

ŚAMKARA'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE GĪTĀ-BHĀṢYA

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Tradition has it that Śrī Śamkarācārya, the well-known exponent of the Advaita Vedānta and author of an illuminating commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, is also the author of a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā*. It has, however, fathered on him a plethora of works such as he could never have been guilty of; and modern critical scholarship has been cautious to scepticism in admitting the genuineness of the works attributed to the Ācārya. The enormity of the offence committed against Śamkara by his pious followers can easily be judged from the fact that no less than four hundred works have been ascribed to Śamkara of which upwards of seventy five per cent are obviously unworthy of the great master. When, therefore, modern critical scholarship set its face against the large mass of 'Śamkara-apocrypha' and dismissed hosts of them as spurious, traditional scholars were visibly alarmed. No doubt, traditional scholars were quite right in opining that criticism must proceed with caution—that conclusions should not be drawn all too hastily. For, the craze for speculation and the inward self-satisfaction arising out of adumbrating a new and startling theory in the field, had critical scholars too much by the throat to permit them take a level-headed view of things. Except for glaring instances, it is still impossible to pass any judgment off-hand whether or not some of the major works attributed to Śamkara are really his. Competent scholars like Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya and Dr. Belvalkar have repudiated Śamkara's authorship of works such as the commentaries on the *Nṛsiṃha-Tāpanī*, *Māṇḍūkya* and *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣads*, the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, *Upadeśa Sāhasrī*, and the *Stotras*. Madhusūdana Sarasvati seems to have taken for granted Śamkara's authorship of the *Daśasloki*. Something like the weighty support of orthodoxy seems to have been given in sign of their genuineness to the works of Śamkara published in

twenty volumes under the aegis of the Svāmiji of the Śrīngeri Mutt, at the Vānī Vilas Press, Srirangam. But, modern scholars of a Wentworthian type would seem to think that not much of a success in the matter of fixing the genuine works of Śamkara could come out of orthodox quarters.

However that may be, opinion seems still to lurk in certain quarters that Śamkara never wrote the commentary on the *Gītā* attributed to him. It is given for a reason that the language and style of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* are not such as could have creditably emanated from the illustrious author of the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya*. Though, so far, no serious divergences in the philosophical theories and doctrinal details between the two commentaries have been brought to light, a difference in a methodology is discernible. It is this. Śamkara, for reasons best known to himself, has not cared to give a benedictory stanza at the beginning of his *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya*. The *Gītā-Bhāṣya*, however, begins in the usual manner with a benedictory stanza ; hence the incompatibility in the same author being responsible for two such works.

As against this it must be pointed out that the omission of the benedictory verse by itself is neither a virtue nor a vice and constitutes no valid argument. Śamkara himself, to judge from the astonishing development of his style, as disclosed in his *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* in comparison with the *Gītā Bhāṣya* and other works, appears to have gradually discarded the wooden formalities of 'commentary-making' not only in the matter of the observance of the benediction but also in the elevation of style. The *Gītā Bhāṣya* is not the only work of Śamkara where we have the benedictory verse nor the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* the only one where we have it not !

A few extracts at random from the *Gītā Bhāṣya* would clearly demonstrate the amusing simplicity of its style which may be advantageously contrasted with the 'grand manner' of the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* :—

देवक्या वसुदेवादंशेन कृष्णः किल संबभूव ॥

स भगवान् वैष्णवी स्वां मायां प्रकृतिं वशीकृत्य, अजोऽव्ययो भूतानामीश्वरः स्व-
मायया जात इव लोकानुग्रहं कुर्वन् लक्ष्यते ॥

अतस्तदर्थविवरणे यत्नः क्रियते मया¹ ॥

अहं विवेकतोऽर्थनिर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

न शोच्या अशोच्याः ॥ अन्वशाच्चः अनुशोचितवानसि । देहादन्यः देहान्तरं तस्य प्राप्तिः
देहान्तरप्राप्तिः ॥

न मुह्यति न मोहमापद्यते ॥

रागः अस्यास्तीति रागी ॥

धर्म्यं धर्मादनपेतं धर्म्यं ॥

अधमायुर्जीवितं यस्य सोऽघायुः ॥

चिकीर्षुः कर्तुमिच्छुः ॥

तान्विद्धि जानीहि नष्टान्तांशं गतान् अचेतसः अविवेकिनः ॥

बुद्धिनाशः बुद्धेर्नाशः ॥ सोढुं सहितुं, प्रसहितुम् ॥

साधुरेव स मन्तव्यो ज्ञातव्यः ॥ अंशुमान् रश्मिमान् ॥ मन्यसे चिन्तयासि ॥ दर्शयामास
दर्शितवान् ॥ पार्थाय पृथास्तुताय ॥

अनेकवक्त्रनयनं — अनेकानि वक्त्राणि नयनानि च यस्मिन्नूपे तदनेकवक्त्रनयनम् ॥

अनेकाद्भुतदर्शनं — अनेकानि अद्भुतानि विस्मापकानि दर्शनानि यस्मिन् तत् अनेका-
द्भुतदर्शनं रूपं तथा अनेकदिव्याभरणमनेकानि दिव्यान्याभरणानि यस्मिन् तदनेकदिव्याभरणं
तथा दिव्यानेकोद्यतायुधं दिव्यान्यनेकानि अस्यादीन्दुद्यतान्यायुधानि यस्मिस्तत् दिव्यानेको-
द्यतायुधं दर्शयामासेति पूर्वेषु संबन्धः ।

किं च, दिव्यमाल्याम्बरधरं दिव्यानि मालयानि ! ! !

हृष्टानि रोमाणि यस्य अयं हृष्टरोमाः ॥

किरीटिनं किरीटं नाम शिरोभूषणविशेषः । तदस्यास्तीति किरीटी तं किरीटिनं ।
तथा गदिनं गदास्य विद्यत इति गदी तं गदिनं तथा चक्रिणं चक्रमस्यास्तीति चक्री स
चक्रिणं च ॥

अशुचीनि व्रतानि येषां तेऽशुचिव्रताः ॥

मोक्षकाङ्क्षिभिः मोक्षार्थिभिर्बुद्धिभूभिः ॥

देहभृद्देहं बिभर्ताति देहभृत् ॥

मां नमस्कुरु ममैव नमस्कारं कुरु ॥

1. Cf. Śaṅkara's use of the first person plural in the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* :

वयमस्यां शारीरकमीमांसायां प्रदर्शयिष्यामः ॥

The elaborate *vigraha vākyas* of the simplest of compounds as गदिन्, चक्रिन् etc., and the explanation of such terms as सौदुम् by सहितुम् and प्रसहितुम्, of दर्शयामास by दर्शितवान् etc., answer very nearly to Bhoja's caustic comment on commentators: स्पष्टार्थेऽपि विस्तृतिं विदधति व्यर्थः समासादिकैः¹ ॥

The *Gītā Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara must therefore be put down as his *primæ* whilst the *Sārīraka Bhāṣya* has been rightly regarded as his *magnum opus*. It is interesting to note that Śaṅkara clearly anticipates in his *Gītā Bhāṣya* some of the views to be expressed and elaborated in the *Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya* later on. A close parallelism in matter and method is clearly discernible in various cases. A decided improvement both in the manner of expression of the same idea as well as in the perfection of the argument distinguishes the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* in all cases.

- (1) तस्माद्गीताशास्त्रे केवलादेव तत्त्वज्ञानान्मोक्षप्राप्तिर्न कर्मसमुच्चितादिति निश्चितोऽर्थः । यथा चायमर्थः तथा प्रकरणशो विभज्य, तत्र तत्र दर्शयिष्यामः ॥

Gītā Bhāṣya

एवमयमनादिरनन्तः नैसर्गिकोऽध्यासः सर्वलोकप्रत्यक्षः अस्यानर्थहेतोः प्रहाणाय सर्वे वेदान्ता आरभ्यन्ते । यथा चायमर्थः सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां, तथा वयमस्यां शारीरकमीमांसायां प्रदर्शयिष्यामः ॥ *Sūtra Bhāṣya*

- (2) न ह्यात्मा नाम कस्यचिदप्रसिद्धो भवति ॥ *G. B.*
सर्वो ह्यात्मास्त्विदं प्रत्येति, न नाहमस्माति ॥ *S. B.*
- (3) योयं लौकिको वैदिकश्च व्यवहारः स उत्पन्नाविवेकज्ञानस्य अविद्याकार्यत्वात्, अविद्यानिवृत्तौ निवर्तते ॥
तमेतमविद्याख्यमध्यासं पुरस्कृत्य सर्वे प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारा लौकिका वैदिकाश्च प्रवृत्ताः सर्वाणि च शास्त्राणि विधिनिषेधमोक्षपराणि ॥
- (4) यथा प्रतिमादौ विष्णवादिबुद्धिः ॥
अन्यत्वेपि तादात्म्यदर्शनं शास्त्रात्कर्तव्यं प्रतिमादिष्विव विष्णवादिदर्शनम् ॥
- (5) तस्मात्सम्यग्दर्शनं सर्वकर्मणां निर्बीजत्वे कारणं इत्याभिप्रायः । सामर्थ्यात्, येन कर्मणा शरीरमारब्धं तत् प्रवृत्तफलत्वात् उपभोगेनैव क्षीयते “तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ संपत्स्ये” इति श्रुतेः ।

1. अस्थानेऽनुपयोगिमिश्रं बहुभिर्जलैर्भ्रमं तन्वते ।

भोतृणामिति वस्तुविप्लवकृतं. सर्वेपि टीकाकृतः ॥

अप्रवृत्तफले एवं पूर्वे जन्मान्तरसंचिते अस्मिन्नपि जन्मनि प्राग् ज्ञानोत्पत्तेः संचिते ऋतदृष्टते ज्ञानाधिगमात् क्षीयते । न त्वारब्धकार्ये सामिभुक्तफले यस्यामेतद्ब्रह्मज्ञानायतनं जन्म निर्मितं । कुत एतत् 'तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्षेऽथ संपत्स्ये' इति शरीरपातावधिकरणाक्षेमप्राप्तेः ॥

- (6) नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वभूतात्मानं निर्युणं ॥

अस्ति तावद्ब्रह्म नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वज्ञं सर्वशक्तिसमान्वितम् ॥

- (7) तत्रैवं सति, कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वलक्षणः संसारो ज्ञेयस्थः ज्ञातरि अविद्याध्यारोपितः इति नानेन ज्ञातुः किञ्चिद्बुध्यति ॥ यथा बालैः अध्यारोपितेन आकाशस्य तलमलिनत्वादिना ॥

अप्रत्यक्षेपि ह्याकाशे बालास्तलमलिनतामध्यस्यन्ति ॥

- (8) अत्राह । साविद्या कस्येति । यस्य दृश्यते तस्यैव । कस्य दृश्यते । अत्रोच्यते । अविद्या कस्य दृश्यत इति प्रश्नो निरर्थकः अप्रत्यक्षेणाविद्यावता अविद्यासंबन्धे ज्ञाते किं तत्र स्यात् ? अविद्याया अनर्थहेतुत्वात् परिहर्तव्या स्यात् । यस्याविद्या स तां परिहरिष्यति । ननु ममैवाविद्या । जानासि तर्हि अविद्यां तद्वन्तं चात्मानम् हन्त तर्हि आत्मनि क्रियाकारकफलात्मतायाः स्वतः अभावे अविद्यायां चाध्यारोपितत्वे कर्माण्यविद्वत्कर्तव्यान्येव न विदुषामिति प्राप्तं । सत्यमेवं प्राप्तं । एतदेव हि न हि देहभूताशक्यमित्यत्र दर्शयिष्यामः ॥

कस्य पुनरयमप्रबोध इति चेत् ? यस्त्वं पुच्छसि तस्य त इति वदामः । नन्वहमीश्वर एवोक्तः श्रुत्या । यद्येवं प्रतिबुद्धोऽसि नास्ति कस्यचिदप्रबोधः ॥

- (9) इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् ॥

इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् ॥

- (10) मुनीनां मननशीलानां अहं व्यासः ॥

मननान्मुनिरिति च व्युत्पत्तिसंभवात् । मुनीनामप्यहं व्यास इति च प्रयोगदर्शनात् ॥

- (11) क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोः विषयविषयिणोः भिन्नस्वभावयोः इतरेतरतद्धर्मध्यासलक्षणः संयोगः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञस्वरूपविवेकाभावनिवन्धनः रज्जुशुक्तिकादीनां तद्विवेकज्ञानाभावादध्यारोपितसर्परजतादिसंयोगदत्तः । सोऽयमध्यासस्वरूपः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगो मिथ्याज्ञानलक्षणः ॥

युष्मदस्मत्प्रत्ययगोचरयोर्विषयविषयिणोस्तमःप्रकाशवाद्विरुद्धस्वभावयोरितरेतरभावानुपपत्तौ सिद्धायां तथा च लोकेऽनुभवः शुक्तिकाहिरजतवदवभासत इति ॥ केचित्तु यत्र यदध्यासः तद्विवेकाग्रहनिबन्धनो भ्रम इति । एवमयं अध्यासो मिथ्याप्रत्ययरूपः ॥

(12) क्षेत्रज्ञं यथोक्तलक्षणं चापि मां परमेश्वरं असंसारिणं विद्धि ॥

कः पुनरयं शारीरो नाम परमात्मनोऽन्यः, यः प्रतिषिध्यते अनुपपेत्तु न शारीर इत्यादिना ? श्रुतिस्तु नान्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टा इत्येवंजातीयका परमात्मनोऽन्यं आत्मानं वारयति । तथा स्मृतिरपि, क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ॥

(13) तत्रैवं सति, क्षेत्रज्ञस्य ईश्वरस्यैव सतः अविद्याकृतोपाधिभेदनः संसारित्वमिव भवति । क्षेत्रज्ञेश्वरयोर्भेदानभ्युपगमात् गीताशास्त्रे ॥

अत्रोच्यते सत्यमेवैतत् पर एवात्मा देहेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धि पाधिभिः परिच्छिद्यमानो बालैः शारीर इत्युपचर्यते ॥

(14) ननु, सर्वक्षेत्रेष्वेक एवेश्वरो नान्यस्तद्व्यतिरिक्तो भोक्ता ॥ तत ईश्वरस्य संसारित्वं प्राप्त । ईश्वरव्यतिरेकेण वा संसारिणोऽन्यस्याभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्गः । तच्चोभयमानिष्टम् । बन्धमोक्षतद्धेतुशास्त्रानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गात् प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणविरोधाच्च ॥

नन्वेवं संसारित्वाभावे शास्त्रानर्थक्यादिदोषः स्यादिति चेन्न । न च शास्त्रानर्थक्यं यदुक्तमीश्वरस्य क्षेत्रज्ञैकत्वे संसारित्वं प्राप्नोति । क्षेत्रज्ञानां चेश्वरैक्यत्वे संसारिणोऽभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्ग इति ॥

(15) ईश्वरस्य च संसार्यात्मत्वे ईश्वराभावप्रसङ्गः । ततः शास्त्रानर्थक्यं । संसारिणोपाश्वरात्मत्वे अधिकार्यभावाच्छास्त्रानर्थक्यमेव । प्रत्यक्षादिविरोधश्च यदप्युक्तं, अधिकार्यभावः प्रत्यक्षविरोधश्चेति । तदप्यसत् । यदुक्तं ईश्वरस्य क्षेत्रज्ञत्वे संसारित्वं प्राप्नोति क्षेत्रज्ञानां चेश्वरैक्यत्वे संसारिणोऽभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्ग इति । एतौ दोषौ प्रत्युक्तौ । विद्याविद्ययोर्वैलक्षण्याभ्युपगमात् । कथं ? अविद्यापरिकल्पितदोषेण तद्विषयं वस्तु पारमार्थिकं न दृश्यतीति ।

यत्तुक्तं न विरुद्धगुणयोरन्योन्यात्मत्वं संभव इति । नायं दोषः । विरुद्धगुणताया मिथ्यात्वोपपत्तेः ॥

Śaṅkara again gives the same interpretation to the term पुराण occurring in the *Gītā* and in the *Kāthopaniṣad*.

The two commentaries have thus many things in common. The commentary on the *Gītā* dimly foreshadows many an idea or phrase which is later on immortalised in the *Sūtra Bhāṣya*. That it is not a borrowal or a copy of the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* is evident from its lack of refinement and its inferiority in quality. It cannot

thus be regarded as the work of a later Śaṅkara who imitated the style of his master for the simple reason that such conscious imitation would necessarily have given us a far better specimen than we have. For, in fairness to any imitator with a minimum degree of efficiency for the task he has essayed, it must be admitted that the copy will not limp behind the original to any miserable extent.

II

Indian literary tradition is unanimous in ascribing to Śaṅkara the commentary on the *Gītā* Śaṅkara's commentators and followers are not alone in their opinions of his authorship of the commentary on the *Gītā* attributed to him.

The critics of Śaṅkara, especially Rāmānuja and Madhva, have credited Śaṅkara with the authorship of his *Gītā-Bhāṣya*. The evidence of such powerful opponents of Śaṅkara as these is more deserving of attention than all the assurances of his followers put together-- the majority of whom are again later than both Rāmānuja and Madhva.

That Rāmānuja and Madhva actually wrote their commentaries on the *Gītā* as a counterblast to the work of their predecessor is quite obvious even as it is in the case of their respective *Sūtra-Bhāṣyas*. It is not without significance therefore that the commentaries on the *Gītā* in the case of everyone of them were the earlier works. It is claimed in regard to Madhva that the *Gītā Bhāṣya* was his earliest work.¹ A cogent and successful Bhāṣya on the *Gītā* seems to have been, in those days, regarded as the primary qualification for one aspiring to write a Bhāṣya on the *Vedānta Sūtras* or found a new system. Rāmānuja's first literary *début* must certainly have been the *Gītā Bhāṣya* wherein he undertook a searching criticism of the Monistic tenets adumbrated by Śaṅkara in his *Gītā Bhāṣya*. Nor could the case have been different with Śaṅkara. He too, must have signalled the beginning

1. Cf. गीताभाष्य चकारादौ प्रथमं तुष्टदं हरः ।

(*Granthamūlikā Stotra*)

and also,

प्रतियुक्त्यं पुरतोवरगीताभाष्यमर्पयदुपायनमस्मै ।

(*Madhva Vijaya*)

of his philosophico-literary career by first undertaking a critical refutation of the dogmas of his predecessors and their interpretations of the *Gītā*. The existence of commentaries on the *Gītā* prior to Śaṅkara need not be startling news to any one. Śaṅkara himself at the outset of his *Gītā Bhāṣya* refers to several earlier commentators on the *Gītā*.

तदिदं गीताशास्त्रं दुर्विज्ञेयार्थं । तदर्थविष्करणाय अनेकैः विवृतपदपदार्थवाक्य-
वाक्यार्थन्यायमपि, अत्यन्तविरुद्धानेकार्थत्वेन लौकिकैर्दृष्टमाणमुपलभ्याहं विवेकतोऽर्थ-
निर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

And, in the course of his commentary on certain verses of the *Gītā*, states and vehemently repudiates their erroneous interpretation at the hands of his predecessors. Instances are :—

(a) अत्र केचिदाहुः सर्वकर्मसंन्यासपूर्वकादात्मज्ञाननिष्ठामात्रादेव केवलात्केवल्ये
न प्राप्यत एव किं तर्हि ? अग्निहोत्रादिश्रौतस्मार्तकर्मसहिताज्ज्ञानात्केवल्यप्रतिगिरिति
सर्वास्तु गीतास्तु निश्चितोऽर्थ इति । ज्ञापकं चाहुरस्यार्थस्य * * * * तदसत्¹ ॥

(b) अत्र केचित्पण्डितमन्या वदन्ति जन्मादिभावविक्रियारहितः अविक्रियः
अकर्ता एकोहमात्मेति न कस्यचित् ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते, यस्मिन्सति सर्वकर्मसंन्यास उपदिश्यत
इति तन्न² ॥

(c) केचित्तु, अर्जुनस्य प्रश्नार्थमन्यथा कल्पयित्वा तत्प्रतिकूलं भगवतः प्रतिवचनं
वर्णयन्ति, यथा चात्मना संबन्धग्रन्थे गीतार्थो निरूपितः तत्प्रतिकूलं चेह पुनः प्रश्नप्रति-
वचनयोरर्थं निरूपयन्ति । कथं ? * * * * तत्रैतत्स्यात्³ ॥

(d) अयं श्लोकोऽन्यथा व्याख्यातः कैश्चित् । कथं ? * * * * नैतद्युक्तं
न्याख्यानम्⁴ ॥

(e) अत्र केचिदनादि मत्परमिति पदं छिन्दन्ति बहुव्रीहिणा सह उक्तेऽर्थे मनुष्य
आनर्थक्यमनिष्टं स्यादिति । अर्थविशेषं च दर्शयन्ति * * * * सत्यमेव
न पुनरुक्तं स्यादर्थश्चेत्संभवति । नत्वर्थः संभवति⁵ ॥

(f) अन्ये तु वर्णयन्ति, नित्यानां कर्मणां फलाभावात् 'सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च' इति
नोपपद्यते । अतः एतान्यपीति यानि काम्यानि कर्माणि नित्येभ्योऽन्यानि एतान्यपि कर्त-
व्यानि । किमुत यज्ञदानतर्पासीति । तदप्यसत्⁶ ॥

Jayatīrtha's gloss on Madhva's *Gītā Bhāṣya* has very great value for purposes of critical and historical research; and modern

1. Śaṅkara on *Gītā* II, 11,

2. Ibid., II, 21

3. Ibid., III, 1

4. Ibid., IV, 18.

5. Ibid., XIII, 12

6. Ibid., XVIII, 6.

scholarship is alone the worse for it if it has not fully explored the inexhaustible resources of this excellent commentary of the Dvaita school

It would appear from Jayatīrtha's gloss on Madhva's commentary that Bhāskara, the author of an extant commentary on the *Veīānta Sūtras* also wrote one on the *Gītā*.¹ A well-known contemporary of Śaṅkara, Bhāskara severely criticises Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Sūtras*. It appears, on Jayatīrtha's showing, that Bhāskara refuted Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Gītā* in a separate commentary of his own. Jayatīrtha throws considerable light on the interrelation between the two. The occurrence of actual statements attributed to Śaṅkara (extracted by Jayatīrtha) by Bhāskara in the extant commentary of the former fully establishes the identity of our present text with the one which Bhāskara had in view. To cite but a few instances, it appears that Bhāskara objected to Śaṅkara's introducing his commentary on the *Gītā* with an account of the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa and its objects. Bhāskara, again, is reported to have rejected Śaṅkara's opinion under III, 1, that Sin will not ensue from mere non-performance of action -- essentially an *abhāva* -- as well as his citation of the *Śruti*: 'कथमसतः सज्जायेत' in support. Bhāskara, on the other hand, is reported to have held that the *Śruti* cited by Śaṅkara has reference only to substances and not to *guṇas* which could certainly be produced from *abhāvas*. That Bhāskara credited Śaṅkara with the authorship of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* is clear from these two instances.

Abhinavagupta, the veteran Ālamkārika and protagonist of the Śaiva Siddhānta, for some reason or other, felt himself justified in writing a commentary on the *Gītā* -- an essentially Vaisnavite treatise. Abhinavagupta too, had his own differences with Śaṅkara. Though very sparing in his criticisms of earlier writers, he was occasionally obliged to repudiate the erroneous interpretations of his predecessors. Two prominent instances at least deserve mention in this connection.

1. Vide my paper on 'Bhāskara a Forgotten Commentator on the *Gītā*' -- contributed to the Haraprasad Sastri Commemoration Volume.

Abhinavagupta does not accept Śaṅkara's explanation of the term मात्रास्पर्शः in II, 14. Śaṅkara here renders मात्रा by 'senses' whilst Abhinavagupta renders it by 'objects' in which he is followed by Madhva.

Secondly, Abhinavagupta objects to the interpretation of all his predecessors including Śaṅkara, of the verse आब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकाः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन (VIII, 16); according to which all the worlds including that of Brahma are regarded as transitory sojourns of the aspirant. Abhinavagupta, therefore, protests against the inclusion of 'ब्रह्मभुवन' in the list and adds : ब्रह्मलोकप्राप्तानामपि पुनरावृत्तिरस्तीति सर्वव्याख्यातं । एतद्भ्युपगमे च, तदुपरितनलोकगतिर्मुक्तिरित्यभिहितं स्यात्तच्च न हृदय-गमम् ॥ which again is endorsed by Madhva.

III

We will now bring together the important references to Śaṅkara's interpretations which are usually discarded after examination in the commentaries of Rāmānuja and Madhva and in the glosses thereto of Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha. Neither Rāmānuja nor Madhva refers to Śaṅkara by name; but nevertheless they repudiate his interpretations of particular verses in significant terms and their commentators always help to clarify such references and identify them in Śaṅkara's extant commentary. Both Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha, on the other hand, mention Śaṅkara by name only occasionally but normally refer to him by such terms as अपरे, केचित्, कश्चित्, अन्य etc., usually adopted by commentators. An emphatic protest must here be lodged against the distorted spelling — संकर — for the rightful शंकर found in the orthodox manuscripts and printed editions of Jayatīrtha's commentary which clearly owes its origin to sheer theological odium. It is time that the exclusions concerned realise the disreputable folly of such procedure. But to return to our point, commentators of the type of Jayatīrtha and Deśika can implicitly be trusted when they refer the implicit criticisms of their masters to definite statements in the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara and others.

As references to Śaṅkara in these commentaries are extremely numerous, mention will be made in the following pages of only the most important of them. Precedence will be given to the references under particular verses in Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya

and the commentary of Deśika on chronological grounds. The references to Śaṅkara, in the commentary of Madhva and of Jayatīrtha will be dealt with after. Page references are to the Ānanda Press Edition of the *Gītā* with the commentaries of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva with the glosses.

शंकरादिपक्षे शास्त्रोपदेशारम्भाद्यनुपपत्तेर्वक्ष्यमाणायाः स्वपक्षे प्रसङ्गाभावाय, *
* * * * प्राक्तनोदन्तं गीतोपदेशेन संगमयति¹ ॥

शंकरः कृष्णावतारपुरस्कारेण गीतायाः संगतिमाह । तदातिक्रमेण व्यासावतार-
पुरस्कारे को हेतुरिति चेत्² ॥

Rāmānuja makes a direct hit against Śaṅkara that the Lord's reference to plurality of Selves gives the lie to the latter's doctrine of identity: एवं भगवतः सर्वेश्वरात् आत्मनां परस्परं च भेदः पारमार्थिक इति भगवतैवोक्तमिति प्रतीयते³ ॥ on which Deśika comments: देहभेदाभिप्रायेण बहुवचनं नात्मभेदाभिप्रायेणेति शंकरोक्तं दूषयति⁴ ॥

Similarly, Śaṅkara's explanation of the plurality of Selves referred to by the Lord in जनाधिपाः etc., as pertaining merely to the bodies: देहभावाद्युत्पत्त्या बहुवचनं नात्मभेदाभिप्रायेण is negatived by Jayatīrtha: अत्र भगवतां जीवानां परस्परमीश्वराच्च भेदे प्रतिपादितेऽपि बहुवचनं शरीरापेक्षया न त्वात्मापेक्षयेति वदतो भविष्यत्युत्तरं ॥

Reference has already been made to Madhva's dismissal of Śaṅkara's explanation of the terms 'मात्रास्पर्श' and 'आब्रह्मबुवनात्.'

Madhva sees no point of eulogy in the term प्रज्ञावाद (II, 11); and he therefore discards Śaṅkara's interpretation of it, attributing a note of euphemism to the Lord's remark.

Under II, 26, Jayatīrtha has: अस्वेवमात्मनो नित्यत्वमिति वदता 'आत्मनोऽनित्यत्वमभ्युपगम्येदमुच्यते' इति मायावादिनो व्याख्यानं निरस्तं भवति । ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य चेत्युत्तरवाक्यविरोधात् ॥

1. *Tātparyā Candrikā* of Vedānta Deśika, p. 2, Ānanda Press, Madras, 1910.
2. *Prameyadīpikā* of Jayatīrtha, p. 18.
3. *Rāmānuja Bhāṣya*, p. 51.
4. *Tātparyā Candrikā*, p. 52.

Under II, 29, Vedānta Deśika remarks with reference to an alternative explanation¹ offered by Śaṅkara:—

एतेन, कर्तृदृष्टान्ततया.शंकरोक्तं योजनान्तरमपि दूषितम् ॥

Referring to Śaṅkara's remark:— तस्मात्प्रागज्ञाननिष्ठाधिकारप्राप्तेः कर्मण्यधिष्ठितेन कूपतटाकार्थस्थानीयमपि कर्म कर्तव्यम् (II, 46), Jayatīrtha says : ज्ञानिनः कर्माभावमुक्त्वा, इदानीमज्ञानिनः कर्मोच्यत इत्यन्यथाव्याख्याननिरासायाह ॥ and wonders at the temerity of Śaṅkara's assertion : सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा, ईश्वरो मे तुष्यादिति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा (II, 48).

Says Jayatīrtha under II, 54: यथाह शंकरः लब्धसमाधिप्रज्ञस्य लक्षण-मुच्यते अर्जुन उवाचेति तदसदिति भावेनाह उक्तमिति and has the following with reference to Śaṅkara's 'आत्मन्येव प्रत्यगात्मस्वरूप एव आत्मना स्वेनेव' (II, 55) —आत्मानमात्मनेति पदद्वयेन जीव एवात्रोच्यत इति कश्चित् । तदसदिति भावेनाह ॥

Jayatīrtha dismisses Śaṅkara's note on the term मत्पर (II, 61), as fanciful : मत्पर इत्यद्वैतज्ञानमित्यन्यैर्व्याख्यातं तन्नाक्षरानुसारि ॥

Śaṅkara's introductory remarks on III, 5 . कस्मात्पुनः कारणात्कर्म-संन्यासमात्रादेव केवलात् ज्ञानरहितात् सिद्धिं नैष्कर्म्यलक्षणां पुरुषो नाधिगच्छतीति हेत्वा-काङ्क्षायामाह are set aside by Jayatīrtha : ज्ञानरहितात्कर्मत्यागरूपाद्यथाश्रमात् सिद्धिं न समधिगच्छतीति किल पूर्वमुक्तं तत्र हेत्वाकाङ्क्षायां ' न हि कश्चिदित्युच्यत ' इति व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेनाह नन्विति ॥

Vedānta Deśika rejects the reading सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा (III, 10) adopted by Śaṅkara with the remark : सहयज्ञा इति शंकरयादवप्रका-शीयपाठस्त्वप्रसिद्धेरनादृतः ॥ We may note incidentally that Rāmānuja has सहयज्ञैः in lieu of सहयज्ञाः favoured not only by Śaṅkara and Yādavaprakāśa but also by Abhinavagupta and Madhva ; so that the latter reading seems to have been much more widely current than the former, Deśika's verdict notwithstanding.

Śaṅkara's rendering : ब्रह्म पुनर्वेदाख्यं अक्षरसमुद्भवं, अक्षरः परमात्मा समु-द्भवं यस्य is discarded by Madhva : अक्षराणि प्रसिद्धानि तेभ्यो ह्यभिन्न्यज्यते ब्रह्म whereupon Jayatīrtha comments : ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवमित्यत्र ब्रह्मवेदः अक्षरा-त्परब्रह्मणो जायत इति परेषां व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेनाह ॥

1. Cf. अथवा योयमात्मानं पश्यति स आश्चर्यतुल्यः यो वदति, यश्च श्रुणोति ॥

Deśika flares up in a violent protest against Śaṅkara's interpretation of the term माया in IV, 6 :—एतेन प्रकृतिशब्दस्यावृत्तिगुणात्मकप्रकृतिविषयत्वं मायाशब्दस्य मिथ्यार्थपरत्वं च शङ्करोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥

Jayatīrtha rejects Śaṅkara's special pleading in IV, 13 : यद्यपि मायासंश्लेषवहारेण तस्य कर्मणः कर्तारमपि मां परमार्थतो विद्वच्चकर्तारम् with the remark : क्रियाया मिथ्यात्वात्कर्ताप्यकर्तृति परद्वयाख्यां प्रत्याख्याति and objects to Śaṅkara's rendering of ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना into ब्रह्मैवकर्म, ब्रह्मकर्मणि समाधिर्न सः ॥

Śaṅkara's rendering of संन्यास into परित्यागं कर्मणां शास्त्रीयानामनुष्ठेय-विशेषाणां (V, 1), is, at the outset, rejected by Jayatīrtha : तथा च, कर्मणां संन्यासं त्यागमिति व्याख्यानमसादिति सूचितम् ॥

Vedānta Deśika takes exception to Śaṅkara's rendering of the term संन्यास in V, 6 into प्रकृतः संन्यासः ब्रह्मोच्यते, संन्यास इति ब्रह्मेति श्रुतेः । Says he : एवमव्यवहितात्मप्रतिज्ञाधनत्वं वदता प्रकृतः संन्यासो ब्रह्मशब्देनोच्यते इति शङ्करोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥ And in the next verse dismisses Śaṅkara's : विजिज्ञातात्मा = विजितदेहः as puerile.

Under VI, 13 Deśika quotes Śaṅkara with approval : मनस्यन्तर्मुखे नासासंप्रेक्षणस्यासंभवाच्चक्षुषो दृष्टिसंनिपातमात्रमिह विवक्षितं । अतः संप्रेक्ष्येत्यत्र 'इवशब्दो लुप्तो द्रष्टव्य' इति शङ्करम् ; but is not at all satisfied with the latter's rendering of ब्रह्मचारिव्रतं into ब्रह्मचर्यं गुरुश्रृपाभिधानन्मुख्यादि and therefore adds : शङ्करोक्तप्रक्रियया वा ब्रह्मचर्यगुरुश्रृपाभिचर्यादिभिः स्यादिति, तद्व्यवच्छेदायाह । ब्रह्मचर्यं च स्तनवति पिशितपिण्डे भोग्यताधीनभरमरणालोकादिरहितत्वमत्र विवक्षितम् ॥

Referring to Śaṅkara, Deśika points out under VII, 4 केचिदाहुः अष्टा प्रकृतेषु इति श्रुतेरिह भूत्यादिशब्दैः तन्मात्राणि गृह्यन्ते मनःशब्देन मनसः कारणभूतोऽहंकारः अहंकारशब्देन स्वहंकारवासनास्पदं अव्यक्तं सूक्ष्मकारणमिति । एवं समस्तपदसु ख्यार्थभङ्गहेताव्यपेक्षया प्रकृतित्वं वरामिति भावः ॥ There is some slight discrepancy here. For, in the text of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya which runs : भूमिरिति पृथग्वातन्मात्रमुच्यते, न स्थूला, 'भिन्ना प्रकृतिरप्येति' वचनात् । तथावाद्यपि तन्मात्राण्येवोच्यन्ते । मन इति मनसः कारणमहंकारो गृह्यते, बुद्धिरित्यहंकारकारणं महत्त्वमहंकार इत्यविद्यासंयुक्तमव्यक्तम् * * * etc, the alleged quotation from the *Śruti* does not occur. Deśika's citation is faithful in other respects. Jayatīrtha too, differs from Śaṅkara and quotes him faithfully. In the passage which he extracts from Śaṅkara there is no *Śruti* text—अष्टौ प्रकृतयः such as is attributed to Śaṅkara by Deśika.

Reference is made by Jayatīrtha to Śaṅkara's comment: यस्मान्मम प्रकृत्योनिः कारणं सर्वभूतानामताहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभव उत्पत्तिः प्रलयो विनाशश्च under VII, 6, thuswise: एतेन, यस्मान्मम प्रकृत्योनिस्सर्वभूतानां ततोऽहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथेति व्याख्यानमपहस्तितं भवति ॥

Deśika rounds up the 8th chapter with a trite note on परं स्थान-मुपैति चायं wherein Śaṅkara's interpretation of आयं स्थानं as आदौ भवं कारणं ब्रह्म is deplored : आदौ भवं कारणं ब्रह्मेति परोक्तं तु स्थानशब्दवैयर्थ्या-दयुक्तम् ॥

At the beginning of IX chapter, Madhva has in explanation of the term — प्रत्यक्षावगमम्—प्रत्यक्षं ब्रह्मावगम्यते येन तत् in lieu of Śaṅkara's:—प्रत्यक्षेणावगमो यस्य तत् and Jayatīrtha remarks : प्रत्यक्षेणाव-गमो यस्येति व्याख्यानमसत् । भगवन्माहात्म्यस्य शास्त्रैकसमाधिगम्यत्वात् ॥

Deśika, referring to Śaṅkara's: आध्यक्षेण सर्वतो दृशिमात्रस्वरूपेण अविक्रि-यात्मना अध्यक्षेण मया, writes : तेन, अध्यक्षशब्दस्यात्र अविक्रियादृशिमात्रपरतां घटन्तः प्रत्युक्ताः (IX, 10).

Jayatīrtha rejects गतिः कर्मफलं of Śaṅkara on IX, 18, in view of Madhva's गम्यते मुमुक्षुभिरिति गतिः ॥

Under X, 4 both Deśika and Jayatīrtha have something to say against Śaṅkara whose renderings of दम as बाह्येन्द्रियोपशम and शम as अन्तःकरणस्योपशमः are set aside by Jayatīrtha while Deśika rejects those of भव and भाव :—अत एव, भवो भव्यता भावोऽभिप्राय इत्यादि परव्याख्यानं मन्दम् ॥

Madhva has quite an interesting note on महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे (X, 6), which Śaṅkara understands as a reference to Bhṛgu etc. Madhva, however, understands by the 'seven sages' Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha and cites *Moksadharmā* in support. It is interesting to note that Jaya-
tīrtha makes a pointed reference to Śaṅkara : महर्षयः सप्त भृगवादय इति शंकरः तदसत्, 'पूर्वे' इति विशेषणेन प्रथममन्वन्तरस्थानामेव ग्रहणस्योचितत्वात् मोक्ष-धर्मसंवादाच्चैति भावेनाह even though Rāmānuja also follows Śaṅkara's explanation. Śaṅkara himself, in the beginning of the *Gītā Bṛāh̥mya* refers² to Marīci etc ; and Jayatīrtha presumably alludes to this apparent self-contradiction in Śaṅkara.

1. मरीचिरत्र्यंगिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।

पसिष्ठश्च महातेजस्ते हि चित्रशिखण्डिनः ॥

Moksadharmā, 343, 30.

2. स भगवान्मरीच्यादीन्ने सृष्ट्वा प्रजापतीन् p. 6.

Jayatīrtha, again, accords passing notice to Śaṅkara's explanation of जनार्दन (X, 18) as अर्दते: गतिकर्मणोरूपं असुराणां देवप्रतिपक्षभूतानां नरकादिगमयितृत्वाज्जनार्दन । अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसपुरुषार्थप्रयोजनं सर्वैर्जनैर्याच्यत इति वा and dismisses it as unsound : अर्दगतौ याचने चेतिवचनात् जनैर्याच्यत्वाद्वा जनार्दन इति शंकरः तदप्रामाणिकं व्याख्यानम् ॥

Deśika dismisses Śaṅkara's *anvaya* of भूतानां भवाप्ययौ त्वत्तः त्वत्सकाशाच्छ्रुतौ as puerile : त्वत्तः श्रुताविति अन्वयस्तु मन्दप्रयोजनः (XI, 2).

Śaṅkara's interpretation of यद्विकारि as यो विकारो यस्य तद्यद्विकारि and of यतश्च यत् as यस्माच्च यत्कार्यमुत्पद्यते come in for criticism at the hands of Madhva ; and Jayatīrtha points out the defect in Śaṅkara's interpretation : यो विकारो यस्य तद्यद्विकारिती कश्चित्तदसत् । बाहुव्रीहितायामिनेवै-यर्थ्यात् (XIII, 3).

Deśika repudiates Śaṅkara's rendering of अनन्ययोग as अपृथक्समाधि in no uncertain terms : अनन्ययोगेनापृथक्समाधिनेति शंकरोक्तं एतेन प्रत्युक्तम् (XIII, 10).

Keen controversy centres round the proper interpretation of the term अनादिमत् in the verse अनादिमत्परं ब्रह्म न सत्तन्नासदुच्यते (XIII,12). Several interesting views have been expressed by commentators regarding this curious form.¹ Śaṅkara himself refers to an earlier interpretation of this term in the light of which अनादि and मत्परं will be treated as separate words. Śaṅkara departs from this interpretation because of an inevitable contradiction which he sees on such a view. The same interpretation is also stated and repudiated implicitly by Madhva and explicitly by Jayatīrtha for quite other reasons. Śaṅkara, ultimately, calmly admits it as a phraseological redundancy on the part of the author of the *Gītā* excusable on metrical grounds. It is against this left-handed compliment to the author of the *Gītā* that both Rāmānuja and Madhva protest. Deśika adds : एतेन मत्परमिति पदच्छेदेऽर्थासंभवान्मतुषो बहुव्रीहिणा समानार्थत्वेऽपि प्रयोगः श्लोकपूरणार्थ इति

1. The grammatical accuracy of this form has been questioned by even as recent a writer as Prof. V. K. Rajwade, in his unfortunate paper on the 'Grammar of *Gītā*' contributed to the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1917. A criticism of which by the present writer, has already appeared in the *Annals* (Vol. XI, pp. 284-299).

शंकरोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥ Jayatīrtha opines : ये त्वेवं प्रयोजनमनभिधाय, मनुष्य-
प्रयोगः श्लोकपूरणार्थं इत्युक्तवन्तः तान्निराचष्टे, अन्यथेति ॥ Jayatīrtha further
shows the invalidity of Śaṅkara's objections to the earlier inter-
pretation in terms of अनादि and सत्परं :— अहं पराशक्तिर्यस्येति व्याख्याने-
र्थसिम्भवं कश्चिदुच्यते प्राह । “ ब्रह्मणः सर्वविशेषप्रतिषेधेनैवात्र विजिज्ञापायीषितत्वात्
शक्तिमत्त्वप्रतिपादनं विरुद्धमिति ” तदसत् अत्र विशेषवत्त्वस्य दर्शनादिति भावेनाह
सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासे..... ॥

Deśika protests against the remarks *ex cathedra* of Śaṅkara that the terms ग्रसिष्णु, प्रभविष्णु etc., used by the author of the *Gītā* are to be taken with a grain of salt, in their phenomenal sense: अत्र भरणग्रसनादिकं रज्ज्वादिषु सर्पादिरिवेति वदन्तः श्रुतिहानाश्रुतकल्पनाभिः निरस्ताः । And Deśika has in view the following concluding remarks of Śaṅkara : प्रलयकाले च ग्रसिष्णु ग्रसनशीलं यथा रज्ज्वादिः सर्पादिर्मिथ्या-
कल्पितस्य (XIII, 16).

Under XIII, 20, Deśika sets aside the reading कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे adopted by Śaṅkara as obscure : कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वेति परोक्तं पाठान्तरमप्रसिद्धिरनादृतम् ॥ Śaṅkara, no doubt adopts कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे as his main reading but is not entirely unaware of the other reading which also he interprets suitably : कार्यकारणकर्तृत्वित्यस्मिन्नपि पाठे..... ॥

Deśika again, repudiates Śaṅkara's one-sided explanation of the introduction of the example of the sun in XIII, 33 :— व्याचख्युश्च परे, रविदृष्टान्तोऽत्र रविवत्सर्वक्षेत्रेष्वेकं आत्मा, अलेपकश्चेति ज्ञापनार्थमिति । तच्चायुक्तम् ॥

The point is raised by Deśika and Jayatīrtha whether ब्रह्मणो हि प्रति-
ष्ठाहं in the concluding verse of chapter XIV admits of the interpreta-
tion ब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यत्वात्साविकल्पकं ब्रह्म, तस्य ब्रह्मणो निर्विकल्पकोऽहमवाच्यः प्रतिष्ठा
आश्रयः given to it by Śaṅkara. Deśika finds fault with Śaṅkara's
introduction of these fanciful theories of the 'determinate' and
'indeterminate' Brahman न च निर्विकल्पकं रूपं विकल्पितस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रतिष्ठेति
वाच्यं श्रुत्यादिवैपरीत्यात्तन्मतनिर्मुलनाच्च ॥ Jayatīrtha objects strongly to
Śaṅkara's first explanation : ब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः हि यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा and
remarks : ब्रह्मणोहीत्येतत्परब्रह्मणोहीति व्याचक्षते तदसत्..... ॥

1. In any case, Śaṅkara's explanation of the "Speaker and Indeterminate Brahman" viz, Kṛṣṇa being the substrate of the Determinate is clearly incongruous since in Śaṅkara's view Kṛṣṇa, the speaker (अहं), could never be a *Nirvikalpaka* ! !

Deśika promptly exposes the fallacy underlying Śaṅkara's explanation of the creation referred to in XV, 4 in terms of 'jugglery' ¹: अत्र, प्रसृतादिशब्दैः सत्यत्वस्यैव प्रतितेः परेषामिन्द्रजालादिदृष्टान्तः शब्दस्वारस्येन प्रत्यक्षादिभिश्च बाधितः ॥

He also dismisses Śaṅkara's comment : यथा वयमनृतप्रायाः तथेदं सर्वं जगदसत्यं on XVI, 8 as puerile²; and takes very strong exception³ to the rendering of अप्रतिष्ठं in the same verse as नास्य धर्माधर्मौ प्रतिष्ठा । Jayatīrtha, for his part, draws attention to the absence of the negative element⁴ on such a view as अपरस्परसंभूतं कामप्रयुक्तयोः स्त्रीपुरुषयोः अन्योन्यसंयोगाज्जगत्सर्वं संभूतम् ॥

Rāmānuja makes an evident attempt at improving on Śaṅkara's plain interpretation of नामयज्ञः as नाममात्रैर्यज्ञैः and has instead नामप्रयोजनैर्यष्टेति नाममात्रप्रयोजनैर्यज्ञैः which is no doubt better; for, it brings out the hollow selfishness of motive behind the sacrifices performed by the Tāmasas. Still, Śaṅkara's explanation does not seem to be so puerile as Deśika contends it to be : अत एव, यज्ञसमाख्यामात्रः ननु वस्तुतोऽसौ यज्ञः इति व्याख्यापि मन्दा प्रदर्शिता ॥ For one thing, Deśika does not seem to have benefited by the cleverest and happiest explanation hit off by Abhinavagupta : यज्ञैर्यजन्ते नाम ! निष्फलमित्यर्थः ॥ Fortunately or unfortunately, Madhva does not enter the controversy. Neither does Jayatīrtha obtrude.

Madhva, as indicated by Jayatīrtha, equates कर्शन in XVII, 6 with अल्पदृष्टि as against Śaṅkara's मदनुशासनाकरणमेव मत्कर्शनम् ॥

Exception is taken by Madhva and his commentator to Śaṅkara's view of संन्यास (XVIII, 2) as consisting of the abjuration of desired acts such as Aśvamedha : काम्यानां कर्मणामित्येतं श्लोकं केचिद्वाचक्षते, काम्यानां कर्मणामश्वमेधादीनां स्वरूपेण त्यागः संन्यास इति तदप्यसादिति भावेनाह ॥

Madhva discredits Śaṅkara's view that reference is made to the Śāṃkhya philosophers in the hemistich त्याज्यं दोषवदित्येके । The

1. प्रसृता निस्सृता ऐन्द्रजालिकादिव माया ॥
2. यथा वयमनृतप्रायाः तथा सर्वं जगदिति प्राहुः इति व्याख्यापि मन्दा ; जगच्छब्दस्य चेतनमात्र-विषयत्वाभावात् ॥
3. एतेन प्रतिष्ठाशब्दस्य धर्माधर्ममात्रपरत्वेन व्याख्या निरस्ता ॥
4. अपरं परस्मात्संभूतामिति व्याख्यानमसत् । प्रतिषिद्धप्रकरणात्

point is that Śāṅkara classes the view expressed in त्याज्यं दोषवत् under *pūrvapakṣa* and hence ascribes it to the Śāṅkhya philosophers, whose attitude towards the question has been significantly set forth by the author of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* : दृष्टवदानुश्रविकः सद्य-विशुद्धिक्षयातिशययुक्तः । तद्विपरीतः श्रेयान् ॥ But Madhva sees nothing heterodox in त्याज्यं दोषवत् (XVIII, 3), and takes his stand on the eulogistic epithet applied to the Pūrvapakṣins (मनीषिण इत्युक्तत्वात्पूर्व-पक्षोपि ग्राह्य एव). This significant attitude of Madhva towards a class of quasi-Pūrvapakṣins may throw welcome light on the influence exercised by 'Śāṅkhya' ethics on the philosophy of Madhva. The cult of Pistapaśu upheld by the followers of Madhva might have been remotely inspired by 'Śāṅkhya' ethics (though not exactly for the same reasons as were put forward by Śāṅkhya). The question is doubly interesting in view of the obvious influence exercised on the metaphysical side, by the Śāṅkhya Dualism and its plurality of Selves on the Dvaita Vedānta of Madhva.

Jayātīrtha further makes out that Śāṅkara's contention that the doctrine of renunciation of acts refers only to those in the lower plane of action and not to those who have attained wisdom, is refuted by Madhva : एवमिदमप्यपास्तं यत्केनचिदुक्तं अज्ञान कर्मण्यधिकारिणोऽधिकृत्यैतत्प्रकरणं प्रवृत्तं न परमहंसपरिव्राजकानिति । And Jayātīrtha is obviously referring to the following comment of Śāṅkara : तस्माज्ज्ञान-निष्ठाः संन्यासिनः नेह विवक्षिताः । कर्मण्यधिकृतान्प्रत्येवैष संन्यासत्यागविकल्पः । ये तु परमार्थदर्शिनः सांख्यास्तेषां ज्ञानानिष्ठायामेव सर्वकर्मसंन्यासलक्षणायामधिकारो नान्यत्रेति न ते विकल्पाहर्हाः ॥

What does 'कृतान्त,' in apposition to 'सांख्य' in XVIII, 13, mean? Śāṅkara explains it as कृतमिति कर्मोच्यते तस्यन्तः परिसमाप्तिः कर्मान्त इति which implies that the term (= Vedānta) stands (as indeed it does, in Śāṅkara's view) for complete negation of Karma. Rāmānuja, quite naturally, rejects such an interpretation of the simple term कृतान्त and Deśika puts in : यदिह शंकरेणोक्तं, सांख्यं वेदान्तः स एव कृतान्तः कृतस्य कर्मणोऽस्मिन्नन्त इति, तदसत् । वेदान्तेष्वपि कर्मान्वयस्य स्थापितत्वात् ॥ Jayātīrtha too, controverts Śāṅkara in a similar strain.

Deśika again, refutes Śāṅkara's exposition of the term केवलं कर्तारं in verse 16, in conformity with the doctrine of the non-activity of the soul :—

तत्र यत्परैरुक्तं 'आत्मनोऽविक्रियस्वभावत्वेनाधिष्ठानादिभिः संहतत्वानुपपत्तेः, विक्रिया-
वतो ह्यन्येः संहननं, संहत्य वा कर्तृत्वं' स्यात् । न त्वाविक्रियात्मनः केनचित्संहननमस्तीति
न संसृपकारित्वमुपपद्यत इति तदसत् ॥ The remarks attributed to Śaṅkara
appear in the latter's commentary on verse 17.

Jayatilrtha accords passing notice to Śaṅkara's rendering of
कर्म in verse 18 : कतुरीप्सिततमं कमात् काश्चित् तदसत् ॥

Deśika dismisses Śaṅkara's identification of गुणसंख्यान in verse
19 with the Sāṅkhya system of Kapila¹ as invalid and irrelevant.
गुणसंख्यानशब्देन सांख्यराद्धान्तविवक्षायां प्रमाणभावात्पृक्ते चानुपयोगाद्गुणस्वरूप-
गणने च ज्ञानादेरनुप्रवेशाभावात् ॥ Śaṅkara, however, introduces a special
pleading on behalf of Sāṅkhya :—

गुणसंख्याने कापिले शास्त्रे—कापिलमपि गुणसंख्यानशास्त्रं गुणभोक्तृविषये प्रमाणमेव ।
परमार्थब्रह्मेकत्वविषये यद्यपि विरुध्यते, तथापि, ते हि कापिलाः गुणगौणव्यापारानिरूपणे
अभियुक्ता इति बक्ष्यमाणार्थं स्तुत्यर्थत्वेन उपादीयत इति न विरोधः ॥

Deśika under verse 20, summarily rejects Śaṅkara's equation
of सात्त्विकज्ञान with monistic knowledge : तज्ज्ञानमद्वैतात्मविषयं सात्त्विकं
विद्धि । and turns down the inclusion², suggested by him, of an
additional इव after यन्त्रारूढानि in verse 61.

Deśika makes the last reference by name to Śaṅkara under
verse 66, where he disagrees with the latter's introductory com-
ment on the verse : यदिह शंकरेणोक्तं । मन्मना भवेति श्लोकेन, सर्वकर्मयोग-
निष्ठायाः परमं रहस्यमीश्वरशरणतामुपसंहृत्याथेदानीं, कर्मयोगनिष्ठाफलं सम्यग्दर्शनं सर्व-
वेदान्तसारं विहितं वक्तव्यमित्याह, सर्वधर्मानिति, अयमपि * * * * * ॥
and takes the additional opportunity towards the close of his
commentary on the *Gītārtha Saṁgraha* of Yāmunācārya, of
alluding to 'the deceitful character of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on
the *Gītā et hoc genus omne* : अथात्र सौगताहतादिसगन्धानां शंकरादि-
ग्रन्थानां भगवदभिप्रायविरुद्धताख्यापनायोक्तसंग्रहप्रकारेण निगमयति³ ॥

1. गुणसंख्याने कापिले शास्त्रे । (Śaṅkara).

2. यन्त्रारूढानीवेति इवशब्दोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः ।

3. *Gītārtha Saṁgraha Rakṣā*, of Vedānta Deśika, p. 973, Ananda Press, 1910.

IV

The voluminous textual evidence brought together in the foregoing pages would clearly establish that Śamkara wrote a commentary on the *Gītā*. Nay, more. The identification of that commentary with the one that is now extant and goes by his name is also easily accomplished in view of the fact that the extant work attributed to him presents all the main features of that original Bhāṣya disclosed by the successors, critics and contemporaries of the Ācārya in their diverse writings. The testimony of writers like Bhāskara and Abhinavagupta is particularly noteworthy. Above all, the fact that their reported references to 'Śamkara's Bhāṣya' are happily traceable today, in the latter's work removes all grounds of reasonable scepticism in the way of identifying the present work attributed to Śamkara with the one familiar to these early writers.

We may close with a short discussion of another allied topic which is bound to strengthen our case. It is this. Is there any evidence to show that 'Śamkara's' *Gītā Bhāṣya* as it stands today, is wholly the work of a single individual? For, without seriously disputing the existence, once upon a time, of a Bhāṣya by Śamkara on the *Gītā*, scepticism may still entrench itself behind its fashionable argument of the possibility and probability always of any given work having been produced or added to, at different times, by different personages. So that "the provenness" of a *Gītā Bhāṣya* by Śamkara would not, at once, suffice to establish that the entire work, as it stands today, was that of one single man — Śamkara. The sceptic and the critic have always a right to ask for such internal evidence as may establish the unity of authorship of any given work.

To digress a little by way of illustration, the mere fact of there having flourished a Bharata, or a Kālidāsa or a Bāna or a Bhavabhūti does not necessarily establish his authorship, *in full*, of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the *Kumārasambhava* or the *Kādambarī* or the *Mahāvīracarita*. Notorious, indeed, is the example of Vyāsa and his authorship of the entire epic. Nor is break of authorship an unknown phenomenon in philosophical literature. One has simply to cite the well-known fact of the dual — authorship of

the *Anu-Bhāṣya* of Vallabhācārya¹. It could thus be readily shown or argued that the historicity of a person and his being known to have written a certain work are not, in themselves, enough to guarantee unity of authorship. A doubt could thus be perfectly legitimately raised against the unity of authorship of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Gītā*. Traditional and orthodox acquisition in such a unity of authorship is no argument at all in such a case; for, tradition having, once at least, erred egregiously in the case of 'Vyāsa²', stands self-condemned.

No more apology is, therefore, needed to examine the internal evidence, if any, in support of the unity of authorship of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara. It is gratifying to note that the author of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* (whoever he might have been) refers to himself and to his own explanations of particular passages of the *Gītā* in at least three distinct places in the course of his commentary on the same. What is significant is that these references occur in different and widely--separate portions of the commentary. The first occurs under III, 5 ; the second under XIII, 2; and the last under XVIII, 3 --- a truly interesting distribution indeed. These three references, in their turn, presuppose three others and thus, we have six sections under reference. Unity of authorship in such a case is a 'necessary' assumption. Else, it would be difficult to account for the unerring confidence with which the author in a particular section refers to views expressed by him on earlier or later occasions.

An examination of these references establishes the unity of authorship of the commentary on chapters II, III, XIII and XVII.

(a) Commenting on III, 5, Śaṅkara writes : सांख्यानं पृथक्करण-
दज्ञानामेव हि कर्मयोगो न ज्ञानिनो । ज्ञानिनो तु, युगैश्चाल्यमानानां स्वतश्चलनाभावात्कर्म-
योगो नोपपद्यते । तथाच व्याख्यात वेदाविनाशिनं (II, 21) इत्यत्र ॥ The
views herein expressed are clearly anticipated under वेदाविनाशिनम् '

1. Which has been fully proved by Mr. G. H. Bhatt, in his excellent paper to the IV Oriental Conference, (Allahabad).

2. Cf. कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुं ।

को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद्वेत् ॥

Moksadharma, 353, 11.

thuswise :— विदुषः कर्मासंभववचनात् यानि कर्माणि शास्त्रेण विधीयन्ते तान्य-
विदुषो विहितानीति भगवतो निश्चयोऽवगम्यते ॥

(b) His remarks under XIII, 2, viz., हन्त तर्हि, आत्मनि क्रियाकाक-
फलात्मतायाः स्वतोऽभावे अविद्यया चाध्यारोपितत्वे, कर्मण्यविद्वत्कर्तव्यान्वेव, न विदुषा-
मिति प्राप्तं । सत्यमेवं प्राप्तं । एतदेव, 'नाहि देहभृताशक्य' (XVIII, 11) मित्यत्र-
दर्शयिष्यामः ॥ are faithfully echoed later on, under XVIII, 11 : तस्मा-
त्परमार्थदर्शित्वेनैव अदेहभृता, देहात्मभावरहितेन, अशेषकर्मसंन्यातः शक्यते कतुम् ॥

(c) Lastly, note the remarks under XVIII, 3 : तस्माकर्मण्यधि-
कृतान्प्रत्येवैषसंन्यासत्यागविकल्पः ये तु परमार्थदर्शिनः सांख्यास्तेषां ज्ञाननिष्ठायामेव सर्व-
कर्मसंन्यासलक्षणायामधिकारो नान्यत्रेति न ते विकल्पाहस्तच्छांपपादितमस्माभिर्विदा-
विनाशिन' (II, 11) मित्यस्मिन्प्रदेशे, तृतीयादौ च ॥ The extract pre-
supposed here, has already been given under (a) *supra*. Besides
this, the authorship of commentary on the *third* chapter is also
tacitly assumed in C.

A MS. OF VARĀṅGA-CARITA

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

1. Previous discussions about the references to Varāṅga-carita.—2. The errors in those discussions.—3. Description of the newly discovered Ms. of Varāṅga-carita —4. The story summarised and some critical remarks on the style etc.—5 Authorship of this Varāṅga-carita.—6. The age of this work. —7. Popularity of this work and its influence on later writers —8 Varāṅga-carita as one of the earliest Jaina epic-kāvyas in Sanskrit —9. Another Varāṅga-carita by Vardhamāna, his date etc.—10. Kanarese Varāṅga-carita by Dharaṇipañḍita.—11 Concluding remarks.—12. Text of the first chapter.

1. It was some twenty years before Pt. Premi of Bombay announced¹ that Raviṣeṇa had composed a Varāṅga-carita besides his Padma-carita² (677 A. C.). His conjecture was based on the following two verses from the Harivaṁśa-purāṇa³ (783 A. C.) of Jināsena.

कृतपद्मोदयोद्योता प्रत्यहं परिवर्तिता ।
मूर्तिः काव्यमया लोके खेरिव रवेः प्रिया ॥
वराङ्गनेव सर्वाङ्गैर्वराङ्गचरितार्थवाक् ।
कस्य नोत्पादयेद्गाढमनुरागं स्वगोचरम् ॥

I. 34-35

Further, in support of his view he adduced an evidence, from Kuvalaya-mālā⁴, (778 A. C.) of Udyotanasūri, based on a verse which runs thus :—

जेहिं कए रमणिज्जे वरंग-पउमाण चरियवित्थारे ।
कह व ण सलाहणिज्जे ते कहणो जडिय-रविसेणो ॥

This view of Pt. Premiji was accepted by all, and even a prize was set upon the discovery of Varāṅga-carita of Raviṣeṇa.

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1. Vidvadratnamālā, p. 43. (Bombay, 1912).
 2. Published in Manikchand Granthamālā (M. G. M.) Vols. 29-30.
 3. Published in M. G. M. Vols. 31-32.
 4. See Jesalmere Catalogue G. O. S. Vol. XXI; p. 42.

2. Pt. Premi's conjecture and the consequent attribution of authorship of a Varāṅga-carita to Ravisena are due to his misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the above verses.

First, considering the reference from Harivamśa he is not justified to read both the verses together, since they are not syntactically connected. We can take the verse *varāṅganaiva* etc. independently and translate thus, "In whom will not the style of Varāṅga-carita, which is pregnant with sense arouse, with all its factors, deep passion for itself, just in the wise of a lovely damsel who arouses, with all her limbs, deep passion for herself - a damsel whose speech has its purpose done through her excellent limbs?" It is a self-sufficient verse describing only the merits of Varāṅga-carita without mentioning the name of its author. Secondly, the verse from Kuvalaya-mālā has not been correctly interpreted by Pt. Premiji. He is not sure about the reading and naturally about the meaning of the word *Jaḍiya* in the last part of the second line. Once he read it as *Jaḍiya* and now in his introduction to Padmacarita he reads *Jaiya*. Mr. Dalal quotes an extract from Kuvalaya-mālā in his notes on Kāvya-mīmāṃsā¹ of Rājaśekhara and his reading too is *Jaḍiya*. When one scrutinizingly notes the forms *ijyehim*, *te* and *kaino*, all in plural, he cannot but suspect that the author of Kuvalaya-mālā is mentioning two poets who are the authors of Varāṅgacarita and Padmacarita respectively. Neither the reading *Jaḍiya* nor its improved form *Jaiya* is correct. The correct reading must have been *Jaḍila*, which as we learn from other sources, is the name of the author of Varāṅga-carita. For instance, Dhavala, in his Harivamśa² (circa 11th century A. C.) written in Apabhraṃśa dialect, refers to Varāṅga-carita thus:—

मुणिमहसेण सुलोयणु जेण
पउमचरिउ मुणिरविसेणेण ।
जिणसेणेण हरिवंसु पविचु
जडिलमुणिणा वरंगचरिचु ॥

It is plain from the above discussion that Pt. Premi's view that Ravisena is the author of a Varāṅga-carita will have to be given

1. See G. O. S. Vol. I. p. 124.

2. See Catalogue of Skr. and Pkr. Mss. in the C. P. and Berar, page, 764.

up for the simple reason that, of the two evidences put forth by him one is insufficient since it does not mention the name of the author at all, and the second goes completely against him.

3. I have come across a palm-leaf Ms. (13" × 2" × 2") of *Varāṅga-carita* in the Laksmisena Matha, Kolhapur. It contains 148 leaves (= 296 pages) : each page has eight lines and each line about 55 letters. It is written in old Kanarese script and the handwriting is fairly beautiful. The age of the Ms. is given thus at the end :--

“स्वास्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्ष १६५८ नल्लनामसंव-
त्सरे कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दशीतिथौ मन्दवारयुक्तायां श्रीरङ्गपत्तन-
प्रविराजमानश्रीमदादेनाथश्रीवीरनाथपादाम्भोरुहयुगमसन्निधौ श्रीमद-
भिनवचारुकीर्तिपण्डिताचार्यवर्यानुज्ञया पां(सो?)मण्णोपाध्यायस्य प्रिय-
पुत्राय अण्णस्योपाध्याय पायिसेद्विपुत्रेण पार्श्वह्वयेण मया लिखित्वा
दत्तमिदं वराङ्गचरितमिति मङ्गलमहा श्री ६ ”

So the Ms. is about 195 years old. It is in good order, only one page in the middle is broken across. The Ms. has some lacunae here and there. The copyist is careful but his copy appears to have inherited some mistakes from the original. As usual in old Kanarese Mss. short and long vowels are not distinguished. Here *d* and *t* are generally represented by *d* and *t*. Very often the copyist interchanges *p* and *y* which perhaps indicates that he is copying from a Devanāgarī Ms. The Ms. is complete in 31 chapters and the author gives significant names to all of them. Various kinds of usual metres are used throughout the book. The favourite metre of the author being *Upajāti* - a combination of stanzas of lines of *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*. The first chapter is in *Vasantatilakā* Metre excepting the concluding two verses which are in *Puspitāgrā* Metre.

4. *Varāṅga-carita* deals with the story of *Varāṅga* of the *Harivamśa*, a contemporary of *Neminātha* and *Kṛṣṇa*. King *Dharmasena*, his father, appointed him as heir apparent to the throne which incident gave rise to jealousy in the minds of his step-mother and her son *Susena* who in their plottings, were promised assistance by the minister *Subuddhi* in procuring the throne for him by somehow getting rid of *Varāṅga*. *Subuddhi*

appeared like a faithful minister but he was always waiting for an opportunity to overthrow Varāṅga. Once he trained two horses, one in a proper and the other in an inverse manner and arranged an exhibition of horses in such a manner that Varāṅga mounted the inversely trained horse, was carried away in a dense forest and thrown off by that rash horse. The prince wandered long in the forest facing and passing through various fatal difficulties and moral tests. Once by fighting against Bhills he obliged Śāgarabuddhi, the leader of a caravan of merchants, and with him he came to Lalitapura where he remained unknown under the name of Kaścidbhatah. This unexpected loss of Varāṅga caused great sorrow to Dharmasena and all others. There he was installed as the head of merchants and once again he made himself famous by crushing an enemy that marched against the king of Lalitapura. His identity was soon disclosed. He returned home to the great joy of his parents and all other members of the family. He abandoned his father's kingdom in favour of his elder brother Susena and requested his father to allow him to conquer fresh territories and establish a new kingdom in the construction of which, he would have ample scope for his military bravery. He founded a new kingdom with the well-planned town of Ānartapura as its metropolis. Since the days of his Yuvarāja-ship till he returned to his parents he had married many excellent girls in whose company he spent his time in his new kingdom. After some time, he began to feel indifference towards this world and its pleasures. The sight of a lamp which was extinguished at the exhaustion of oil made him leave the house and enter the order of monks after placing his son on the throne. He took *dīkṣā* at the hands of Varadatta Ganadhara from whom in his days of youth he had adopted the partial vows of a householder, practised severe austerities and finally attained eternal bliss in liberation.

Jealousy of the step-mother, wanderings in forest and the ultimate restoration of kingdom — these are some points in this story which remind the reader of Rāma's story. Jaina stories have always a moral and they generally illustrate some religious doctrine. More than once the author reiterates that *Karmas* are all powerful and no one can exempt himself from their consequences. It is faith that helps one in times of difficulties and

the words of Jina are an ambrosial doze which cures one from the disease of Samsāra and they lead him to liberation. Varāṅga marries a dozen of girls, and remains always faithful to married life. Once he bravely stands the temptation of a Yaksakanyā who came to seduce him with a view to test his vow of celibacy. Thus poly-gamy is allowed, but strict faithfulness to married life is demanded from every householder.

The threads of the story are not in any way intricate. Major portion of this work is covered by long and technical sermons by the sage Varadatta and others on Jain doctrinal points. The author's style is generally vigorous in narrations, chaste in descriptions, but it becomes tedious to a general reader when the author goes on giving religious sermons full of technical terms peculiar to Jainism. The work stands midway between a *Purāṇa* and a *Kāvya*. The author wants to conform to the standards and import here and there the conventions of a *Kāvya*, but in majority of cases his descriptions and the general atmosphere can be compared with those in Mahābhārata, Paumacariya and other works of the epic type.

5. I have not been able to find any clue as to the authorship of this *Varāṅga-carita* in the work itself. The Colophons do not mention the name of the author nor there is any *prasasti* at the end. However, I have discovered one external evidence which sheds light on the authorship of this *Varāṅga-carita*. Cāmuṇḍarāya, the Commander-in-chief and minister of Rācamalla (974-84 A. C.) has composed in Kanarese prose a *Trisasthi-śalākā-purusa-carita* popularly known as *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* (978 A. C.). In that work a verse is quoted thus :—

जटासिंहनन्द्याचार्यर वृत्त¹—
मृत्सारिणीमहिषहंसशुकस्वभावा

-
1. This phrase is found in two Mss. of the five used for the edition of *Ādipurāṇa* of Cāmuṇḍarāya (published by Karnataka Sāhitya Parishad, 1928) and in a democratic spirit the editors have relegated this phrase to the footnote (see page, 8. of that edition.). A palm leaf Ms. of Cāmuṇḍarāya purāṇa written in Śaka 1427 (1505. A. C.) has this introductory remark along with the quotation (p. 2a) and I do not see any reason to doubt the genuineness of that phrase. This Ms. belongs to Mr. Tatyasaheb Patil of Nandani and is with me at present.

माजरीकङ्कमशकाजजलूकसाम्याः ।
 सच्चिद्रकुम्भपशुसर्पशिलोपमाना-
 स्ते श्रावका भुवि चतुर्दशधा भवन्ति ॥
 अंतु प्रशस्ताप्रशस्तात्मकमप्य चतुर्दशविकल्पसु ।

From the context it is plain that the quotation is genuine and the verse quoted is the 15th of the first chapter of our *Varāṅga-carita*.¹ So the author of this *Varāṅga-carita* is *Jatā-Simhanandyācārya* according to *Cāmuṇḍarāya*'s authority. Further, I think this *Jatā-Simhanandyācārya* is the same as *Jatācārya* referred to in *Ādipurāṇa* (c. 838 A. C.) by *Jinasena* thus:—

काव्यानुचिन्तने यस्य जटाः प्रचलवृत्तयः ।
 अर्थान्स्मानुवदन्तीव जटाचार्यः स नोऽवतात् ॥ I. 50

In a marginal note of a Ms. of *Ādipurāṇa*, *Simhanandi* is given as the proper name of *Jatācārya*.² One is tempted to surmise, from the above evidences, that the name of the author is *Simhnandi*, and he was popularly known as *Jatācārya* perhaps from his long matted hair, 'which shivered when he was deeply engrossed in his poetic compositions'. *Cāmuṇḍarāya* calls him *Jatā-Simhanandi*, perhaps to distinguish him from some other *Simhanandi* that flourished before. *Jatila* means one who has matted hair and hence we can identify *Jatācārya* with *Jatila*—the latter being the author of *Varāṅga-carita* according to *Kuvalāyamālā* and *Apabhraṃśa Harivaṃśa*. So we can say that this *Varāṅga-carita* is composed by *Simhanandi* who was popularly known as *Jatācārya* or *Jatila*,³ and it is to this *Varāṅga-carita* that *Jinasena* the author of the *Harivaṃśa* refers.

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1. See the text of the first chapter at the end.
 2. See Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, p. 272.
 3. Pandit Jinadas of Sholapur has raised a question whether the author *Jatila* is *Digambara* or *Śvetāmbara*. We find in this work that *Varadatta Gaṇadhara* is preaching his sermons seated on a slab of stone (III. 6) which is against *Digambara* tradition according to which a *Kevalin* has a *Samavasaraṇa* or at least a *Gandha-kūṭi*. Further heavens are enumerated as twelve (IX. 7-10) and not sixteen according to *Digambaras*.

6. Now we should see when Jatila flourished Dhavala, who refers to *Varāṅga-carita* as composed by Jatila, belongs to circa 11th century A. C.; *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* which quotes a verse from *Varāṅgacarita* is composed in 978 A. C.; Jinasena who mentions *Jatācārya* began his *Ādipurāṇa* about 838 A. C.; Jinasena who talks highly of *Varāṅga-carita* finished his *Harivamśa* in 783 A. C.; Udyotanasūri who mentions *Varāṅgacarita* and its author finished his *Kuvalayamālā* in 778 A. C. Thus in the beginning of the last quarter of 8th century *Varāṅga-carita* was a famous work, both in the South and the North, both among Śvetāmbara and Digambara writers. To account for this wide circulation and fame, Jatila might be said to have flourished in the seventh century *at the latest*. At present I am not in a position to put an earlier limit to his date but this much I wish to note that there are some passages in *Varāṅga-carita* which reminded me of similar passages in the works of Samantabhadra (about second century A. C.) and Pūjyapāda (about 500 A. C.). So far as I know, I have not been able to trace the name of Jatila or *Jatācārya* in any epigraphical records. There flourished one Simhanandi in the second century A. C. who helped the two forlorn princes to found the Gaṅga dynasty. It is perhaps to distinguish from this famous Simhanandi that *Cāmuṇḍarāya* calls our author *Jatā-Simhanandi*.

7. Though its Mss. are rare today, *Varāṅga-carita* appears to have been once a very popular work. It has received proper appreciation at the hands of Jinasena the author of the *Harivamśa*, as we have seen above. It is not a small thing that *Jatācārya's* poetic flash has been complimented by Jinasena the author of *Pārśvābhyudaya*-himself a genius. Not only that but Jinasena appears to have used *Varāṅga-carita* and reproduced some topics in his own words when writing his *Ādipurāṇa*. Jinasena, as he was writing his first chapter in *Śloka* Metre, has recast the form only and even some words are common. For instance, compare *Ādi-*

purāṇa¹ I. 122-24 with Varāṅga-carita I. 6-7 ; Ādi. I. 127-30 with Varāṅga. I. 10-11; Ādi. I. 139 with Varāṅga. I. 15 and Ādi. I. 143-44 with Varāṅga. I. 16 and 14. Cāmunda-rāya's exposition of this topic closely agrees with that in Varāṅga-carita and Ādi-purāṇa, and as we have seen above he actually quotes a verse from the former.

8. So far as our knowledge of Jaina literature goes, Varāṅga-carita is one of the earliest Jaina epics in Sanskrit written in a semi-epic and semi-kāvya style. Whether Jaṭila was earlier than or contemporary of Raviṣeṇa, the author of Padma-carita (677 A. C.) cannot be said at this stage. The only Jaina epic that claims priority over Padmacarita of Ravisena and Varāṅga-carita of Jaṭila is the Prakrit Pauma-cariya of Vimala who according to the concluding verse of that work wrote it in 4 A. C.

9. The story of Varāṅga too has proved fascinating in later days. Vardhamāna composed in Sanskrit verse another Varāṅga-carita in thirteen chapters. It is edited with Marathi translation by Pt. Jinadasa of Sholapur. This book is a summary of Jaṭila's work with which it has close phraseological agreements in places more than one ; the author only curtails the details of religious sermons and various descriptions, the skeleton of the story remaining the same all the while. Vardhamāna perhaps implies that he has summarised Jaṭila's work when he says :—

गणेश्वरैर्या कथिता कथा वरा
वराङ्गराजस्य सविस्तरं पुरा ।
मयापि संक्षिप्य च सैव वर्ण्यते
सुकाव्यबन्धेन सुबुद्धिर्विधिनी ॥ I. 11.

Pt. Jinadas writes in the introduction to that edition that Vardhamāna's Varāṅga-carita is the same as the one referred to in Harivaṃśa. But this view cannot be accepted since, it is proved beyond doubt that Jaṭila is the author of Varāṅga-carita referred to by Jināsena.

1. I have not quoted those passages from Ādi-purāṇa since the work is easily accessible. It is published with Hindi translation from Calcutta; with Marathi translation from Kolhapur; and in part with Kanarese translation once from Bangalore and once from Mysore. To facilitate this comparison I have given at the end the text of the first chapter of Varāṅga-carita.

There is no definite evidence as to the date of Vardhamāna who gives meagre information about himself. He was a Bhaṭṭāraka belonging to Mūlasaṅgha, Balātkāragana and Bharatī gaccha and he had a title *paravādi-pañcānana*. I know of two Vardhamānas. The first was the guru¹ of Dharmabhūṣana, the author of Nyāyāḍipikā. If this Vardhamāna is the same as the guru of Dharmabhūṣana then this Varāṅga-carita is composed in the middle of the 14th century at the earliest, since the date of Dharmabhūṣana is given as circa 1600 A. C. by Dr. Vidyabhūṣana² and 1385 A. C. by Dr. Pathak.³ The second Vardhamāna is the author of Humeś inscription⁴ and his date is about 1530 A. C. according to Rice. It is important to note that this second Vardhamāna belonged to Balātkāragana. Thus this Varāṅga-carita cannot be taken earlier than 13th century A. C.

10. Then there is a Varāṅga-carita⁵ in Kanarese by Dharāṇipāṇḍita who flourished about 1650 A. C. He was a native of Viṣṇuvardhanapura. It is written in a popular Kanarese metre known as Bhamini-satpadi. He says that his work is based on previous compositions. From the fact he mentions one Vardhamāna-yati along with other previous authors, it appears that Vardhamāna's Varāṅga-carita was his authority. The Ms. noticed by R. B. R. Narasimhacharya is incomplete containing only eight chapters.

11. In the end I have given below the faithful text of the first chapter of this Varāṅga-carita with a view that the Mss. of it are very scarce and a complete edition with this single Ms. is not possible in the near future and that the readers would be able to have an idea about its style etc. and to compare the same with other Sanskrit works. I am very thankful to my friend Prof. S. S. Sukthankar for his ready help in preparing this essay especially in checking errors in the following text.

1. Aitaka Pannalala Saraswati-bhavana Report III. p. 81.

2. Indian Logic. Mediaeval School. p. 54

3. Annals of B. O. R. I. XII. iv. p. 376.

4. EC, VIII, Nagara. No. 46.

5. See Karanāṭaka Kavi-carita, Vol. II. p. 417 etc.

अर्हस्त्रिलोकमहितो हितकृत्प्रजानां
धर्मोऽर्हतो भगवत्स्त्रिजगच्छरण्यः ।
ज्ञानं च यस्य सचराचरभावदर्शि
रत्नत्रयं तदहमप्रतिभं नमामि ॥ १ ॥

येनेह मोहतरुमूलमभेद्यमन्यै-
रुत्पादितं निरवशेषमनादिवद्धम् ।
यस्यर्द्धयस्त्रिभुवनातिशयास्त्रिधोक्ताः
सोऽर्हज्यत्यमितमोक्षसुखोपदेशी ॥ २ ॥

प्राप्येत येन नृसुरासुरभोगभारो
नानातपोगुणसमुन्नतलब्धयश्च ।
पश्चादतीन्द्रियसुखं शिवमप्रमेयं
धर्मो जयत्यवितथः स जिनप्रजातः ॥ ३ ॥

ज्ञानेन येन जिनवक्त्रविनिर्गतेन
त्रैलोक्यभूतगुणपर्ययसत्पदार्थाः ।
ज्ञाताः पुनर्युगपदेव हि सप्रपञ्चं
जैनं जयत्यनुपमं तदनन्तरं तत् ॥ ४ ॥

अर्हन्मुखागतमिदं गणदेवदृष्टं
सद्धर्ममार्गचरितं परया विशुद्ध्या ।
संशृण्वतः कथयतः स्मरतश्च नित्य-
मेकान्ततो भवति पुण्यसमग्रलम्भः ॥ ५ ॥

द्रव्यं फलं प्रकृतमेव हि सप्रभेदं
क्षेत्रं च तीर्थमथ कालविभागभावौ ।
अङ्गानि सप्त कथयन्ति कथाप्रबन्धे
तैः संयुता भवति युक्तिमती कथा सा ॥ ६ ॥

द्रव्याणि षड्भगवताभिहितानि तानि
क्षेत्रं तथा त्रिभुवनं त्रिविधश्च कालः ।
तीर्थं जिनेन्द्रचरितं प्रकृतं हि वस्तु
ज्ञानक्षयोपशमजा फलभावकहृषा ॥ ७ ॥

धातुः स काश्चनमयः क्रियया विहीनः
कालान्तरादपि न याति सुवर्णभावम् ।
एव जगत्यमितभव्यजनाश्चिरेण
नालं भवादब्रजितुमेत्र विनोपदेशात् ॥ ८ ॥

क्षीय विना नयनवानपि संदिद्वक्षु-
 र्द्रव्यं यथा घटपटादि न पश्यतीह ।
 जिज्ञासुरुत्तममतिगुणवांस्तथैव
 वक्त्रा विना हितपथं निखिलं न वेत्ति ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वज्ञभाषितमहानदधौतबुद्धिः
 स्पष्टेन्द्रियः स्थिरमतिर्मितवाङ्मनोज्ञः ।
 मृष्टाक्षरो जितसभः प्रगृहीतवाक्यो
 वक्तुं कथां प्रभवति प्रतिभादियुक्तः ॥ १० ॥

सत्कारमैत्र्यवनभैषजसंश्रयादी-
 भवक्ताऽनपेक्ष्य जगदत्युपकारहेतुम् ।
 निःकेवलं हितपदं प्रवदन्वदान्यः
 श्रोतात्मनोरुपचिनोति फलं विशालम् ॥ ११ ॥

जन्मार्णवं कथमयं तरतीति योऽत्र
 संभावयत्यतुलधीर्मनसा दयालुः ।
 संसारघोरभयदुःखमनादिबद्धं
 तस्य क्षयं व्रजति साध्विति वर्णयन्ति ॥ १२ ॥

श्रेयोऽर्थिना हि जिनशासनवत्सलेन
 कर्तव्य एव नियमेन हितोपदेशः ।
 मोक्षार्थिना श्रवणधारणसत्क्रियार्था
 योज्यास्तु ते मतिमता सततं यथावत् ॥ १३ ॥

शुश्रूषताश्रवणसंग्रहधारणानि
 विज्ञानमूहनमपोहनमर्थतत्त्वम् ।
 धर्मश्रवार्थिषु सुखाभिमुखेन नित्य-
 मष्टौ गुणान्खलु विशिष्टतमा वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

मृत्सारिणी महिषहंसशुकस्वभावा
 मार्जारकङ्कमशकाजजल्लक्ष्मसाभ्याः ।
 साच्छिद्रकुम्भपशुसर्पशिलोपमाना-
 स्ते श्रावका भुवि चतुर्दशधा भवन्ति ॥ १५ ॥

श्रोता न चैहिकफलं प्रतिलिप्समानो
 निःश्रेयसाय मतिमांश्च मतिं विधाय ।
 यः संश्रृणोति जिनधर्मकथामुदारां
 पश्यं प्रणाशमुपयाति नरस्य तस्य ॥ १६ ॥

प्राज्ञस्य हेतुनयसूक्ष्मतरान्पदार्थान्
 मूर्खस्य बुद्धिविनयं च तपः फलानि ।
 दुःखादितस्य जनबन्धुवियोगहेतुं
 निर्वेदकारणमशौचमशाश्वतस्य ॥ १७ ॥ (?)

लुब्धस्य शीलमदनस्य फलं मृतानां (?)
 दानं क्षमां च धनिनो विषयोन्मुखस्य ।
 सदृशं व्यसनिनो जिनपूजनं च
 श्रोतुर्वशेन कथयेत्कथको विधिज्ञः ॥ १८ ॥

संसारसागरतरङ्गनिमग्नजीवान्
 सज्ज्ञाननावमधिरोप्य सुखेन नीत्वा ।
 सद्धर्मपत्तनमनन्तसुखाकरं यत्
 तत्प्रापयन्ति गुरवो विदितार्थतत्त्वाः ॥ १९ ॥

जन्माटवीषु कुटिलासु विनष्टमार्गान्
 अत्यन्तनिर्वृतिपथं प्रतिबोधयन्ति ।
 तेभ्योऽधिकः प्रियतमो वसुधातलेऽस्मिन्
 कोऽन्योऽस्ति बन्धुरपरः परिगण्यमानः ॥ २० ॥

राज्यार्धराज्यपृथुचक्रधरोरुभोगान्
 भौमेन्द्रकल्पपतिनामहमिन्द्रसौख्यम् ।
 क्लेशक्षयोद्भवमनन्तसुखं च मोक्षं
 संप्राप्नुवन्ति मनुजा गुरुसंश्रयेण ॥ २१ ॥

तेभ्यो नमः प्रयतकायमनोवचोभिः
 कृत्वा जगत्त्रयविभूतिशिवकरेभ्यः ।
 धर्मार्थकामसहितां जगति प्रवृत्तां
 वक्ष्ये कथां शृणुत मोक्षफलावसानाम् ॥ २२ ॥

आसीद्धि यो निजगुणैर्हियमादधानः
 पुंसां समुन्नतधियां स निवासभूमिः ।
 भोगश्रियः कुरुभुवः प्रतिबिम्बभूतो
 नाम्ना विनीतविषयः ककुद्, पृथिव्याम् ॥ २३ ॥

लोकस्य सारमखिलं निपुणो विचिन्त्य
 सत्संनिवासभुवनैकमनोरथेन ।
 यन्निर्ममे स्वयमुदाहृतरत्नसारं
 धर्मार्थकामनियमाच्च निधिं विधाता ॥ २४ ॥

यस्मिन्दिशश्च रहितालिविपिञ्जराभा
 यन्नान्त इक्षुवनपीलितदुःप्रचाराः (?) ।
 रक्तोत्पलामलदलैरुपहारितास्ते
 कालागुरुप्रततधूपवहाश्च गेहाः ॥ २५ ॥
 यस्मिन्वनानि फलपुष्पनताग्रशाखा-
 विभ्राजितानिलविकम्पिमहीरुहाणि ।
 स्वाद्वम्बुकोमलतृणानि दिवानिशीथे
 घोषाः प्रतिध्वनितमन्द्रगुणागुणाढ्याः ॥ २६ ॥
 सन्तो नरा युवतयश्च विदग्धवेषा
 रागोत्तरासु सकलासु कलास्वबाह्याः ।
 अन्योन्यरञ्जनपराः सततोत्सवाश्च
 सौख्येन किंनरगणानतिशाययन्ति ॥ २७ ॥
 देशान्विहाय हि पुराभ्युषितान्कलाज्ञाः
 शिल्पप्रदत्तमतयश्च नटा विटाश्च ।
 रङ्गोपजीवनपराः पुरुषाः स्त्रियश्च
 यस्मिन्पुनर्वेदुविशेषगुणा वसन्ति ॥ २८ ॥
 रत्नोपलामपरिचुम्बितमेघमालो
 नानादरीमुखादिनिःसृतनिर्झरौघः ।
 सौम्याचलः फणिमणिक्षपितान्धकार-
 स्तस्मिन्बभूव हिमवानिव तुङ्गकूटः ॥ २९ ॥
 यस्मिन्पदा गरुडकिंनरपद्मगानां
 गन्धर्वसिद्धतुषितामरचारणानाम् ।
 आक्रीडनानि विविधानि मनोहराणि
 सोद्यानकाननगुहागहनेष्वभूवन् ॥ ३० ॥
 तस्मान्मतङ्गजविषाणविपाटितोरु-
 पाषाणगङ्गरविजृम्भितपद्मगेन्द्रा ।
 कादम्बसारसगणैरुपसृत्यमाना
 रम्या नदी प्रभवति प्रथिता धरायाम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 बाताहतद्रुमपतत्कुसुमोपहारे
 मत्तभ्रमद्भ्रमरगीतरवाभिधाने ।
 तस्यास्तु दक्षिणतटीसमभूमिभागे
 रम्यातटं पुरमभूद्भुवि विश्रुतं तत् ॥ ३२ ॥

रम्यानदीतटसमीपसमुद्भवत्वात्
 रम्यातटं जगति तस्य हि नाम रूढम् ।
 तस्यैव नाम कृतवद्धि गुणान्समीक्ष्य
 अन्वर्थमुत्तमपुरं पदुभिर्द्वितीयम् ॥ ३३ ॥

अभ्यन्तरस्य नगरस्य बहिःप्रदेशः
 कान्तो यतो भवति कान्तपुरं तदेव ।
 पद्मालया सततमारमतीति यस्मात्
 लक्ष्मीपुरं बुधजनैः कथितं पुरं तत् ॥ ३४ ॥

उद्यानपर्वतवनान्तरितप्रदेशै-
 र्वापीतटाकवरपुष्करिणीह्रदैश्च ।
 दिग्देवेदेवगृहरम्यसभाप्रपाभि-
 र्बाह्यं पुरं परपुरश्रियमादधार ॥ ३५ ॥

आवेष्ट्य तत्परवरं परिखाऽवतस्थे
 द्वीपं यथा जलनिधिर्लवणाम्बुगर्भः ।
 माहीमयोभ्युदितशैलसमानशालः (?)
 प्रोज्झ्य भूतलमिवाभ्यधिकं रराज ॥ ३६ ॥

प्रासादकूटवलभीतटगोपुरैः स्वै-
 रत्युच्छ्रितध्वजविचित्रचलत्पताकैः ।
 आरामकल्पतरुगुम्फलताप्रतानै-
 रूद्धातपं पुरमभूद्गिरिभित्तिभिश्च ॥ ३७ ॥

संगीतगीतकरतालमुखप्रलापै-
 र्वीणामृदङ्गमुरजध्वनिमुद्गिरज्जिः ।
 हर्म्यैरनेकपरिवर्धितभूमिदेशे
 विन्यस्तचित्रबलिभिः सततं रराज ॥ ३८ ॥

भूशैलतोयविविधाकरजातपुण्यं
 मुक्ताप्रवालतपनीयमनेकभेदम् ।
 यद्यच्च दुर्लभतमं परराजधान्यां
 तस्मिन्पुरे प्रतिवस्तुलभं च वस्तु ॥ ३९ ॥

न्यायार्जितद्रविणतैककुटुम्बपूर्णं
 सर्वर्तुसौख्यसहितं परमर्धियुक्तम् ।
 उद्धादितापणमुखेषु निरन्तरेषु
 नक्तं दिवं क्रयपरिक्रयसक्तमर्त्यम् ॥ ४० ॥

नैकप्रकारमहिमोत्सवचैत्यपूजा-
 दानक्रियास्नपनपुण्यविवाहसङ्घः ।
 अन्योन्यगेहगमनागमनो जनौघ-
 स्तमिन्पुरे प्रतिदिनं ववृधे यथावत् ॥ ४१ ॥
 शब्दार्थहेतुगणितादिविशेषयुक्ता
 ज्ञानप्रभावितमतिः कृतधीर्मनस्काः । ?
 सद्धर्मशास्त्रकुशलाः सुलभा मनुष्या
 यत्राररञ्जुरधिकं सततप्रमोदाः ॥ ४२ ॥
 वृद्धाः समेषु तरुणाश्च गुरुरूपदेशे
 वेश्याङ्गनासु ललिताः समवा युवानः ।
 त्यागेष्वथार्जितधनाः प्रमदाः प्रियेषु
 वस्त्वन्तरे रतिमुपेयुरथानुरूपम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 पाषण्डिशिल्पबहुवर्णजनातिकीर्णं
 रत्नापगा जलनिधिः सुरलोककल्पम् । ?
 प्रज्ञातिमुग्धधनिनिर्धनसज्जनेष्टं
 चोरारिमारिपरचक्रकथा न तत्र ॥ ४४ ॥
 नीरोगशोकनिरुपद्रवनिर्भयत्वा-
 दस्मिन्ननः सुरसुखं मनसाऽवमेने ।
 किं वा पुरस्य बहुवर्णनया नराणा-
 मिष्टेन्द्रियार्थपरिभोगसुखावहस्य ॥ ४५ ॥
 तस्येश्वरः प्रथितभोजकुलप्रसूतो
 धर्मार्थकामनिपुणो विनिगूढमन्त्रः ।
 न्यायेन लोकपरिपालनसक्तबुद्धिः
 श्रीधर्मसेन इति भूपतिरास नाम्ना ॥ ४६ ॥
 यः कामिनीजनमनोहरचारुमूर्ति-
 नौकावहप्रथितलब्धविशुद्धकीर्तिः ।
 शक्तित्रयप्रतिविशेषहतप्रजार्तिः
 शास्त्रोपदिष्टवचसाऽप्रतिमानवृत्तिः ॥ ४७ ॥
 श्रीमान्प्रभिन्नकटवारणतुल्यगामी
 रक्ताम्बुजच्छविहरामलपाणिपादः ।
 आख्यायिकागणितकाव्यरसाद्यभिज्ञो
 नित्यं पराभिगमनीयगुणावतंसः ॥ ४८ ॥

वृद्धोपसेवनरतिर्द्वैढसौहृदश्च
 त्यक्तप्रमादमदमत्सरमोहभावः ।
 सत्संगग्रहस्थिरसखः प्रियवागलोभः
 प्रागल्भ्यदाक्ष्यसहितो हितबन्धुवर्गः ॥ ४९ ॥

रूपेण काममथ नीतिबलेन शुक्रं
 कान्त्या शशाङ्कममरेन्द्रमुदारकीर्त्या ।
 दीप्त्या दिवाकरमगाधतया समुद्रं
 दण्डेन दण्डधरमप्यतिशिष्य एव ॥ ५० ॥

यस्याज्ञया स्वपथमुत्कमितुं न शक्नु-
 र्वर्णाश्रमा जनपदे सकले पुरे वा ।
 पाषण्डिनः स्वसमयोपविनीतमार्गाः
 सोऽतीव बालबुधवृद्धतमान्बभार ॥ ५१ ॥

यस्याहितं प्रकुरुते मनसापि कश्चित्
 किञ्चित्काचित्पुरुषमर्थमनर्थकं वा ।
 क्षुत्क्षीणभुग्ननयनोदरवक्त्रदण्डः
 स्थातुं हि तस्य विषये न शशाक मर्त्यः ॥ ५२ ॥

युद्धेषु भिन्नकटवारणगण्डलेखा-
 संप्रसृतैः शमितधूलिषु दानतोयैः ।
 वाक्येषु वृद्धितमदान्प्रतियोद्धकामान्
 यः सद्यः एव हि रिपून्विमदीचकार ॥ ५३ ॥

चेतांसि बद्धद्वैरवतां नराणा-
 मभ्यन्तरप्रकृतिकस्य जनस्य वापि ।
 स्वाभाविकैर्विनयजैश्चरितैरुदारै-
 र्यो रज्जयेद्भृशमथ स्वगुणैर्नरेन्द्रः ॥ ५४ ॥

ताराधिपः कुमुदषण्डविकासदक्षैः
 शीतैः करैर्नभसि संविबभौ यथैव ।
 नित्यं प्रियाकुमुदषण्डवचोमयूखै-
 र्मेह्यां तथैव वसुधाधिपपूर्णचन्द्रः ॥ ५५ ॥

आफुल्लचारुविमलाम्बुरुहाननस्य
 आजानुलम्बमतिपीनभुजद्वयस्य ।
 श्रीवक्षसः खलु मृगेन्द्रपराक्रमस्य
 स्वान्तःपर परपतेस्त्रिशतीबभूव ॥ ५६ ॥

युक्ताधिरोहपरिणाहसमन्विता या
 हंसीस्वनासु गमनग्रहणस्वभावाः ।
 लज्जावपुर्विनयविभ्रमचारुवेषा-
 स्तुल्यावलोकननिरन्तरसौहृदाश्च ॥ ५७ ॥

फुल्लारविन्दवदना वरचारुनेत्राः
 फुल्लारविन्दकुसुमोरुशुचित्वगन्धाः ।
 फुल्लारविन्दवरकान्तिगुणावदाताः
 फुल्लारविन्दवरकोमलपाणिपादाः ॥ ५८ ॥

सर्वाः स्त्रियः प्रथमयौवनगर्ववत्यः
 सर्वाः स्वमातृपितृगोत्रविशुद्धमत्यः ।
 सर्वाः कलागुणविधानविशेषदक्षाः
 सर्वा यथेष्टमुपभोगपरिप्सयिन्यः (?) ॥ ५९ ॥

चातुर्यहावगतिविभ्रमसत्क्रियाभी
 रूपेण ता युतिमतातिमनोहरेण ।
 सत्यन्तरे समनुकूलतयानुभूय
 राज्ञो मनस्यधिगता वनितास्तदासन् ॥ ६० ॥

हासेन वा मधुमदेन सगर्वितेन
 रागेण वाथ कलूषीकृतचेतसा वा ।
 अन्योन्यमर्मपरिहासकथाभिरामा
 राज्ञः स्त्रियस्त्विति कथा न बभूव लोके ॥ ६१ ॥

धर्मप्रियस्य रतिनीतिविशारदस्य
 सामान्यदृष्ट्यभिनिवीत ।
 नात्युद्धताः सममुखा पतिवत्सलाश्च
 शीलानुरक्तहृदया वनिता विनीताः ॥ ६२ ॥

तासु क्षितीन्द्रहृदयप्रियकारिणीषु
 माधुर्यकान्तिललितप्रतिभान्वितासु ।
 रेजे भृशं गुणवती क्षितिपाङ्गनासु
 तारागणेषु विमलेष्विव चन्द्रलेखा ॥ ६३ ॥

शुद्धान्वया रुचिरभूषणभूषिताङ्गे
 कामेकभारवति कर्कशजातरागा (?) ।
 स्निग्धा हिता शुचिमती मितवाक्सुदक्षा
 भूर्माश्वरस्य हृदयं स्वगुणैर्बन्ध ॥ ६४ ॥

या धर्मसेननयनामृतरूपशोभा
तस्येव च श्रवणपथ्यहितानुवाक्या ।
तद्वात्रचित्तरतिकारणवेषचेष्टा
तेनाभवत्सुरतनाटकनायिका सा ॥ ६५ ॥

तस्यास्तदङ्गममलेन्दुनिधाननायाः
पीनोन्नतस्तनतटार्पितचन्दनायाः ।
आश्लिष्य कामशरताडनविह्वलायाः
प्रीतिं परामुपजगाम पतिर्धरायाः ॥ ६६ ॥

सा चापि तस्य वदनं नयनातिकान्त-
माकृष्य सीधुरसिना वदनाम्बुजेन ।
भूयश्चुचुम्ब मदनातुरमन्दचेष्टा-
पूर्वं प्रियव्रणितपाटलविभ्रमोष्ठी ॥ ६७ ॥

ताभ्यां यथेष्टमभिसंहितमन्मथाभ्यां
तुल्यानुरागरतिवर्धनसत्क्रियाभ्याम् ।
अन्योन्यचित्तपरितोषणतत्पराभ्यां
प्राप्तं नृजन्मचिरजीवितयोः फलं तत् ॥ ६८ ॥

अनुपरतमृदङ्गमन्द्रनादे
मणिकिर्णैरवभासितान्धकारे ।
षड्रक्तसुखगृहे विशालकीर्ति-
वैरवनिताभिररंस्त राजर्षिहः ॥ ६९ ॥

इति नगरनरेन्द्रभार्याः (?)
प्रथमतः कथिता कथाप्रबन्धात् ।
श्रुतिपथसुखदं निगद्यमानं
तत उपरि प्रकृतं निशामयेदम् ॥ ७० ॥

इति धर्मकथोद्देशे चतुर्वर्गसमन्विते स्फुटशब्दार्थसंदर्भे
वराङ्गचरिताश्रिते जनपदनगरनृपतिपत्नीवर्णनो
नाम प्रथमः सर्गः

Post-script

i. Just recently an old Kanarese inscription mentioning the name of *Jatāsimhanandi* is discovered at Koppala (Nizam State) -- a place recently famous as a find-spot of Aśoka inscription and held in high respect by the Jainas of mediæval India. It is found on a *nisidi* situated on the top-most peak known as Pallakki Guṇḍe, (i. e. palanquin rock) on the hill adjoining Koppala. From the foot-prints, just above the inscription, it is clear that the inscription commemorates the death of *Jatāsimhanandi* and it is engraved by some of his disciple or devotee. It is partly mutilated and runs in two lines --

1 *Jatāsiṃganaṃdi ācārya (mahadeva..... ?) worn out.*

2 *macayyaṃ māḍisideṃ.*¹

In the same place there is one more inscription about *Simhanandi* but I am not ready, at present, to identify both for no other reason than the fact that he is called *Simhanandi* and not *Jatāsimhanandi*, and as I have shown in the body of this paper he was called *Jatāsimhanandi* only to be distinguished from various other *Simhanandis*. If we identify *Simhanandi* and *Jatāsimhanandi* the very purpose of the latter's name would be vitiated. I am inclined to identify this *Jatāsimhanandi* with the author of *Varāṅga-carita*, since our author is known to and quoted by *Cāmuṇḍarāya* who is well acquainted with some of the famous saints associated with *Kopanādri* (*Koppala*) such as *Kumārasena* and *Candrasena*.²

ii. In *Amrtāśīti*³, a didactic work ascribed to one *Yogindra*, a verse of *Jatāsimhanandi* is thus quoted,--

जटासिंहनन्द्याचार्यवृत्तम् —

तावत्क्रियाः प्रवर्तन्ते यावद्द्वैतस्य गोचरम् ।

अद्वये निष्फले प्राप्ते निष्क्रयस्य कुतः क्रियाः ॥६७॥

The palm-leaf Ms. of *Varāṅga-carita* being beyond my reach now, I have not been able to verify this quotation.

1. I am very thankful to Mr. P. B. Desai of Dharwar through whose kindness I could get a copy of this inscription.

2. *Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, I, 15 and 17.

3. See *Annals of B. O. R. I.* XII, ii, p. 162.

NIRVĀṆA AND BUDDHIST LAYMEN

BY

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Nirvāṇa (nibbāna) is, according to the Samyutta Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 117), cessation of existence (bhavanirodho nibbānaṃ). It is according to the Visuddhimagga,¹ pañcannam khandhānam nirodho (extinction of five khandhas). The Visuddhimagga further points out that there is only truth and no second (ekam hi saccam na duttiyam). This is the idea of nibbāna involved in this passage. Nibbāna includes absence of passion (virāga), destruction of pride (mada nimmadana), killing of thirst (taṇhākkhayo), freedom from attachment (ālayasamugghāto) and destruction of all sensual pleasures (Kāmapipāsa Vinaya), these are the attributes of nibbāna. It is the cessation of all sufferings – (sabbadukkūpasama samkhāta)². In the same work we find that nibbāna can be attained through meditation (jhāna), wisdom (paññā), precepts (sīla), steadfastness (āradhaviyāro)⁴ etc.

In the Atthasālinī (p. 409) nibbāna means that from which the arrow of desire (tanhāsamkhātam vānam niggaṭam vā tasmā vānāti nibbānam) is gone away. It is freedom from all sins, final release from the lower nature as Mr. Maung Tin puts it (Expositor, 518). In the Sumangalavilāsini (Vol. I., 217) Buddhaghosa says that a person obtains nibbāna making himself free from the wilderness of misdeeds. Nibbāna is described here as the state of bliss (duccarita kantāraṃ nittharitvā paramaṃ khemanta-bhūmim Amata-Nibbānaṃ pāpuṇāti). This is in agreement with what has been said in the Milindapañho (p. 69). In the Kathāvatthupakaraṇatthakathā nibbāna has been described as a void (J. P. T. S., 1889, p. 178; cf. Dhammapada, verse 93, *Suññato*). Ac-

1 Vol. II, p. 611.

2 Vol. II, p. 497.

3 Vol. I, p. 293.

4 Vol. I, p. 3.

according to the *Abhidhammattasāṅgaha* it is so called because it is a departure from that craving which is called *vāṇa*, lusting or craving. It is to be realised through knowledge belonging to the four paths. It is the object of those paths and of their fruition. It is called *lokuttara samkhātam*. It is excellent, uncreated, and it is free from lust.¹

Dr. Poussin² points out that according to the doctrinal tenets of Buddhism, accurately and profusely explained in every part of the Scriptures, *Nirvāṇa* is annihilation. But this meaning is very vague. We do not agree with him when he further points out that the most exact and most authoritative definition of *Nirvāṇa* is not annihilation but 'unqualified deliverance,' a deliverance of which we have no right to predicate anything³. *Nirvāṇa* means the extinction of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* (passion, hatred and delusion). Mrs. Rhys Davids is perfectly right when she says in her learned introduction to the *Dhammapada* that *Nirvāṇa* is the waning out of all evil, *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*. (The minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, pt. I, p. xix).

It is clearly pointed out in the *Samyutta Nikāya* that *Nibbāna* is *rāgakkhaya*, *dosakkhaya* and *mohakkhaya* (*Samyutta Nikāya*, IV., 251). It is true as Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that *Nirvana* is nothing but diminishing of the vicious and the weak in the man which is the negative aspect of his positive advance in becoming. The literal meaning of 'nirvāṇa' is 'nibbāpeti' that which is extinguished. We can gather a clear idea of the subject from various Pāli Books, the *Dhammapada*, the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the *Sutta Nipāta* and the *Milindapañho*.⁴ Some have translated

1 *Nibbānaṃ pana lokuttara — samkhātaṃ catumagga-nāḍena sacchikā-tappaṃ magga-phalānaṃ ālambaṇa-bhūtaṃ vāṇa-samkhātāya tanhāya nikkhantattā nibbānaṃ ti pavuccati, asaṃkhatam anuttaraṃ nibbānaṃ vāṇamuttā (Abhidhammattha-Saṃgaha, p. 31, in J. P. T. S., 1884).*

2 *The way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 133.

3 *The way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 131.

4 Vide my paper 'Idea of Nibbāna in the *Milindapañho* (*Journal of the Mahābodhi Society*, October, 1931). I have discussed all these points in my forthcoming volume on the History of Pāli Literature.

11 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

the word, 'Nibbāna' as 'ambrosia', 'immortality', 'perfect beatitude' Summum Bonum, etc. We all know that an arahat obtains Nirvāṇa. Arhattva and Nirvāṇa are synonymous. Childers rightly points out that nibbāna in verse 23 of the Dhammapada means arhatship (Pali D'ct., p. 269). He further points out that nibbāna is used to designate two different things:— (1) the state of blissful sanctification called arhatship, and (2) the annihilation of existence in which arhatship ends (ibid., p. 266). This view of Childers has been supported by James D'Alwis in his 'Essay on Buddhist Nirvāṇa', a review of Max Müller's Dhammapada.

Next comes the question whether a layman can attain nirvāṇa. We are shocked to read pp. 150-151 of *the Way to Nirvāṇa* where Dr. Poussin writes thus, "Laymen, however faithful, generous, and virtuous they may be, even if they practise the fortnightly abstinence and continence of the Upavāsa, cannot reach Nirvāṇa." In other words, according to Dr. Poussin only the monks after having reached the fourth stage of sanctification can obtain nirvāṇa. We find it otherwise if we closely examine the following references from Pali books. A close study of the Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta (p. 58) and the Jarā Sutta (p. 129) of the Mahānidessa together with their commentaries by Dhammapāla helps us to look for the munis both among the householders and the recluses. The munis are defined as persons who have attenuated their sins and have seen nibbāna and as to householders, they are represented as persons who are overburdened with all household duties. No other discrimination is sought to be made between the Āgāramunis and the Anāgāramunis than this, that while the former keep to the method of household life, the latter do not. As for the attainment, both are held out as equally competent to win the highest state, which is nibbāna¹.

1. Āgāraṃ majhe vasantā āgāramunino pabbajjupagatā anāgāramunino sattaasekkhamunino arahantā asekkhamunino paccekabuddhā paccekamunino sammāsambuddhā munimunino. Āgāramunino — āgārikā ti kaṣīgorakkhādī āgārika-kamme nijuttā, diṭṭhapadāti diṭṭhanibbānā, viññāta sāsanaṭi viññātāṃ sikkhattayasāsanaṃ etesanti viññāta sāsanaṃ. Anāgārā ti kaṣīgorakkhādī āgāriyakammam etesam natthi, pabbajjitā anāgārā ti vuccanti. (Commentary on the Mahānidessa, Siamese Edition, p. 218, *Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta* and *Jarā Sutta*).

In the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* we find mention of 21 lay arahats.¹ F. W. Rhys Davids in his learned introduction to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* calls them laymen arahats (S. B. B., Vol. II., p. 63, f. n.) If we are to believe the statement of Dr. Poussin, how was it possible that laymen became arahats fully qualified for obtaining nirvāṇa. In the *Kathāvatthu* (Bk. IV, p. 268, P. T. S.), we find that kulaputta Yasa, householder Uttiya and young Brahman Setu attained arahatship in all the circumstances of life in the laity.² Referring to this point S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have inferred that a layman under exceptional circumstances may attain arahatship but to keep it he must give up the world (Points of Controversy, p. 158, f. n.). We find that F. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids in part iii, p. 5 of the Dialogues of the Buddha (S. B. B., Vol. IV) have raised this question: who in the oldest period could be an arahat? The answer is: - Anyone - men or women, old or young, lay or *religieux*. They have drawn our attention to a number of lay arahats mentioned in many canonical and non-canonical Pali books. It is distinctly mentioned in the *Milindapañho*³ which is one of the most important Pali books that Nāgasena in reply to the question put to him by King Menander points out that whether he be a layman or recluse, he who attains to the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct

1 Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato Bhaliko gahapati.. Sudatto gahapati Anāthapiṇḍiko... Citto gahapati Macchikāsaṇḍiko. 'Hatthako Alavako... Mahānāmo Sakko... Uggo gahapati Vesālīko... Uggate gahapati... Sūro Ambaṭṭho... Jīvako Komārabhacco... Nakulapitā gahapati... Tavakapniko gahapati... Purāṇo gahapati... Isidatto gahapati... Sandhāno gahapati... Vijayo gahapati... Vajjiyamahito gahapati... Menḍako gahapati... Vāseṭṭho upāsako, Ariṭṭho upāsako, Sārāggo upāsako Tathāgate niṭṭham gato amataddaso amatam sacchikatvā iriyati (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 451; Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 17; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V, 94; *The Questions of King Milinda*, II., 57, 96, 245; *Dhammapada* Commentary, I, 308, etc.).

2 Yaso kulaputto, Uttiyo gahapati, Setu māṇavo gihissa byañjanena arahattam pattā, tena vata re vattabbe ' Gihī ' ssa Arahā ti.'

3 According to the Burmese tradition the *Milindapañha* is one of the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* which is included in the *Sutta Piṭaka*, hence a book of the canon (*The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 4).

of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of Araha'ship.¹

"Gihi pi mahārāja sammā paṭipanno ārādhako hoti
ñāyam dhammam kusalam, pabbajito pi mahārāja sammā
paṭipanno ārādhako hoti ñāyam dhammam kusalam."²

It is clear from this passage that a householder if he leads a religious life may obtain arahatship which is nirvāṇa. The Milinda-pañho further points out that whosoever has attained, as a layman, to arahatship, one of the two courses is left to him and no other—either that very day he enters the order or he dies for, beyond that day he cannot last. (*The Questions of King Milinda*, II., p. 96).

"Yo gihi arahattam patto dve v' assa gatiyo bhavanti, anañña: tasmim yeva divase pabbajati vā parinibbāyati vā, na so divaso sakkā atikkametun ti." *Milindapañho*, ed. by Trenckner, pp. 264-265).

And all they who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa,—all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvāṇa (*The Questions of King Milinda*, II., p. 253). T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids remark in their introduction to the *Paṭika Suttanta* that when laymen had experienced the mental change called becoming an Arahant, the natural result, under the conditions prevailing in Northern India in the 6th or 5th Centuries B.C., would be that he would become a *religieux*, and this may have been sufficient reason for such opinions as those expressed in the *Kathāvattbu* and the *Milinda* having, in the course of centuries, grown up, (S. B. B., Vol. IV., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, pp. 5-6). In the *Dhammpada* we find that the verse 23 of the

1 *The Questions of King Milinda*, II., p. 58. (SBE).

2 *Milindapañho*, Ed. by Trenckner. p. 242.

Appamādavagga refers to the learned, meditative, steadfast and always firm in their determination having obtained nirvāṇa. The verse 226 of the same work mentions that those who are always watchful, study day and night and who strive after nirvāṇa, their passions will come to an end. The verse 289 refers to a wise and well-behaved man who should quickly clear the way leading to nirvāṇa. All such verses of the Dhammapada point out that a layman or monk may obtain nirvāṇa.

Another interesting point which should attract our attention is whether there be any such precept prescribed for the laity as we find prescribed for the monks. A layman with trusting heart (pasanna-citto) while leading a household life should observe the following precepts:—

1. pānātipātāveramaṇī, avoidance of life slaughter,
2. Adinnādānāveramaṇī, abstinence from stealing,
3. Kāmesumicchācārāveramaṇī, abstinence from evil conduct in respect of sensual pleasures,
4. musāvādāveramaṇī, abstinence from speaking falsehood,
5. surā-meraya-majja-pamādatthānāveramaṇī, abstinence from taking strong, intoxicating and maddening drinks.¹

It is curious to note that among the ten precepts prescribed for regulating the conduct of the Buddhist monks, only five mentioned above are meant for the householders. Some are under the impression that it is not possible for a householder to observe these

1. "Yo kho brāhmaṇa pasanna-citto sikkhā-padāni samādiyati, — pāṇātipātā veramaṇī, adinnādānā veramaṇī, kāmesu micchārā veramaṇī, musā - vādā veramaṇī, surā - meraya - majja - pamādatthāna veramaṇī — ayaṃ kho brāhmaṇa yaññō imāya ca ti — vidhāya yañña - sampadāya solasa — parikkhārāya iminā ca nicca - dānena anukūla - yaññena iminā ca vihāra - dānena imehi ca saraṇāgamanehi appaṭṭhataro ca appasamārabbhataro ca mahapphalataro ca mahā - nisaṃsataro cā ti." *Kūṭadanta Sutt-Dīgha Nikāya*, I., p. 146; cf. also the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which is also called the *Vinaya of the Houseman*, S. B. B., Vol. IV., p. 169.

precepts. We are at a loss to understand why the observance of these precepts is not practicable in the case of a householder, rather it is difficult for him deeply engrossed in worldly affairs. Surely this is the course of conduct laid down for the ordinary Buddhist layman contained in the Gahapati-vaggas found in the various Nikāyas.¹

1. cf. Introduction to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, S. B. B., Vol. II., p. 63,

TYPICAL PROBLEMS OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

BY

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In this paper we shall deal with a few of the typical problems of Hindu mathematics which, it is apparent, had their origin in practical applications of mathematics to questions of real life. But the problems, starting as practical cases, underwent different variations in later times for the reason, put in a nutshell by Smith, that "there is an interesting law of book writers that most of them would steal from one another without the least scruple if they can thinly veil the theft".¹ As has been pointed out by his student Vera Sanford, there is however some justifications for it, for no mathematical principle is a monopoly of any mathematician.² The many metamorphoses will also be within the scope of each type of our problems.

The purpose of the study is to show one of the distinctive features of Hindu mathematics. Furthermore, there are certain problems which are found to be in common with many nations which show an inter-relation amongst ancient peoples that is very significant to the students of primitive culture.

But the materials pertinent to the study of the history of our problems are so very limited that it has become practically an impossibility to ascertain the time, place and the cause of the origin of a problem. In fact we have no work earlier than the seventh century which deals with problems although it must at the same time be said that there was a regular culture of mathematics amongst the Hindus from an earlier time. We should therefore be strictly cautious in forming our judgments from the

1 Smith — "On the origin of certain typical problems" *American Math. Monthly*, xxiv. No. 2, February 1917, p. 65.

2 Vera Sanford — "The History and significance of certain standard problems in Algebra," Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York, 1927, p. 79.

external evidences as available under the present state of research, on the relation between two nations, considering that some of them might be apt illustrations of *argumentum ex silentio* which had led to many accidents in history. As such, some problems which appear to us with a stamp of foreign influence might be genuine products of Hindu brain without our knowing of the fact. Some of our remarks are therefore provisional and the excuse still for completing the theses is in the hope that it will attract the attention of the future workers and save at least some amount of labour of the more successful researcher.

The first of these problems, without which an arithmetic of to-day, might by some be thought to be incomplete and which is likely to retain its honourable position, as it illustrates a valuable mathematical principle is based upon the reduction of fractional differences. These problems whose origin and development, I wish to direct special attention, appears first in definite form in the *Trīṣatikā* of Śrīdhara (c. 750 A. D.) as 'a rule of the pole' — "One-half, one-sixth and one-twelfth parts of a pole are immersed in water, clay and sand respectively. Two *hastas* are visible. Find the height of the pole."¹ It also appears in one of the great mathematical classics of India, the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra (c. 850 A. D.).² As to the origin of the problem, any one familiar with the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya cannot fail to recognise that it originated in connection with architecture at least as early as the 4th century B. C. In this work we find a rule included under the "Construction of Forts" that "in fixing a pillar, six parts are to form its height on the floor, twice as much to be entered into the ground and one-fourth for its capital".³ Kaye suspected⁴ that the problem originated on the banks of the river Nile, as if there was no river in India.

1 *Bib. Math.* (3) xii, p. 211.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, of Mahāvīra, Rangacharya's Ed. p. 71.

3 Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* — R. Sham Shastri's Ed. p. 69.

4 *Bib. Math.* (3) xiii, p. 211.

Problems in general, have many variants and the one under consideration, is no exception to the rule. One of them most interesting and so devised in their effort to make problems represent cases that actually happen, was to find the numbers of pearls in a necklace which was broken in an amorous struggle. The problem appears in *Trīṣatikā*¹, *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*² and *Manrañjana*, a commentary of Bhāskara's *Līlāvati*³, where it is stated as "the third part of a necklace of pearls, broken in an amorous struggle, fell to the ground, its fifth part rested on the couch, the sixth part was saved by the wench and the tenth part was taken up by her lover, six pearls remained strung. Say of how many pearls the necklace was composed".

Another variant as found in the *Ganita-sāra-saṃgraha*⁴ and the *Līlāvati*⁵ is "Out of a swarm of bees, one-fifth part settled on the blossom of Kadamba and one-third on a flower of Silindhri, three times the difference of those numbers flew to the bloom of a Kutaja. One bee, which remained, hovered and flew about in the air, allured at the same moment by the pleasing fragrance of a Jasmin and pandanus. Tell me, charming woman, the number of bees."

It is interesting to note that the very same problem has been repeated elsewhere in the *Līlāvati*⁶ with some modification to illustrate the principle of assimilation of roots co-efficient, thereby transforming the equation from a simple one to a variety of quadratic. The problem as it stands in its modified form is: "The square-root of half the number of a swarm of bees is gone to a shrub of jasmin and so are eight-ninth of the whole swarm, a female is buzzing to one remaining male that is humming within a lotus, in which he is confined, having been allured to

1 *Trīṣatikā* Ed. Sudhākara Dvivedi, Benares. Rule 50.

2 Rangacharya's Edition, iv. 17-22.

3 Colebrook — *Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanskrit of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara* Lond. 1815; to be hereafter called Colebrook.

4 iv. 6.

5 iii. 54.

6 Colebrook's Translation, *Līlāvati* 63.

it by its fragrance at night. Say, lovely woman, the number of bees."

The next set of problems as found for the first time in the Bākhsāli Ms. is that of the forward and backward motions. The problem is: "A boat goes $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a yojana plus $\frac{1}{3}$ less $\frac{1}{4}$ in $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a day, but then it is driven back by the wind $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{5}$ of a yojana in $\frac{1}{8}$ of 3 days. In what time will it travel one hundred and eight yojanas".¹ Mahāvīra gave the variant "In the course of $\frac{3}{7}$ of a day a boat traverses $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Krośa. State in what time will it have advanced 99 yojanas, thou who hast powerful arms in crossing easily the ocean in numbers".²

Prithudak Swami (864 A.D.) gives another variant of the problem³ :—"A white ant advances 8 barley corns less $\frac{1}{5}$ part of that amount in a day and returns the 20th part of a finger in three days. In what space of time will one, whose progress is governed by these rates of advancing and retarding, proceed one hundred yojana". This problem seems to have originated with the Hindus which was taken to Europe by Fibonacchi in 1202 A.D., who depending upon some Arabic source, did much to make known the Hindu arithmetic there. The variant appears in the form⁴ :—"There is a lion in a well whose depth is 50 palms. He climbs $\frac{1}{7}$ of a palm daily and slips back $\frac{1}{9}$ of a palm. In how many days will he get out of a well?"

The next problems that attract our attention are those that deal with rate-time-distance. The simplest type of these problems deal with the computation of distance traversed or the time required to travel a fixed distance from the observation of a uniform rate of motion. There is in the Bākhsāli Ms.⁵, "Something travels 3 yavas a day. How long will it take to go five yojanas". A similar problem occurs in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha* of Mahāvīra⁶ "A lame man walks over $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Krośa together

1 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh. Ms. p. 51.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*, Loc. cit. V. 23-31.

3 Colebrook's Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration, p. 283.

4 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 63.

5 Kaye's Bākh. Ms. p. 37.

6 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*, Loc. cit. v. 4.

with $\frac{1}{5}$ thereof in $7\frac{1}{2}$ days. Say what (distance) he (goes over) in $3\frac{1}{5}$ years (at this rate)."

The application of the idea to simplest astronomical problems, was another variant of the problem. In the Bākhsālī work we have two problems¹ :— "The Sun travels 500,000,000 yojans in a day. State with certainty the amount of progress in one ghatikā." "The Sun's chariot is guided by the god Mahorāga among the Siddhas and Vidyādharis. The clever scientist says that according to the general rule, it travels half a hundred Koṭi in a day and night. Tell me, O best of the calculators, what it will go in one muhūrta."

"The actual basis of these problems" supposes Vera Sanford² "may be traced to the use of pace-scales in the ancient world, particularly by Alexander whose official pacers measured the distances between towns and villas in mapping his empire."

This suggestion, however, seems to me not to represent the true view. Several centuries before Alexander, the idea was applied by the Hindus in astronomy. In the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, we have several rules the rationale of which is the "rate-time-distance" law. For instance we have a rule which gives the period, for which the Moon remains in one Nakṣatra (asterism) to be 1 day 7 kalās. The rationale of this however is that if in a 5 years' cycle the Moon passes through 1809 asterisms and if the total number of day in a 5 years' cycle is 1830, what is the time required to traverse 1 Nakṣatra³? Again there is another rule where the distance traversed in a particular time is to be found out. The rule is to find the place of the Sun on a particular lunar day. The rule is $P + \frac{11P}{124} + \frac{9T}{124}$ where P means Pārvan (fortnight), T stands for Tithi or the lunar day. The rationale of the rule is that if in a cycle the Sun traverses 135 Nakṣatras, the pārvans of the Moon is 124, what is the Nakṣatra on a particular pārvan⁴?

1 Kaye's Bakh. Ms. p. 51.

2 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 71.

3 Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, Sudhākara's Ed. p. 13.

4 Ibid. p. 22.

The more complicated problems based on this principle are those that deal with the computation of motions of more than one thing. These problems, too, represent practical cases and have a history of wide travels. Furthermore, they are interesting from the standpoint of scientific mathematics. In its purely mathematical form it first appears in the *Bākhsālī Ms.* (early centuries of Christian era), "A travel at a certain rate r_1 for a number of days T and then B starts at a daily rate r_2 . When will A and B have travelled equal distances?"

A similar problem is also repeated in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* :— "A certain person travels at the rate of 9 *yojanas* (a day) and 100 *yojanas* have already been gone over by him. Now, a messenger sent after him, goes at the rate of 13 *yojanas* (a day). In how many days will this messenger meet?"

Such problems have been found in China in the "Arithmetic of nine sections" (3rd century B. C.) as "A hare runs 100 paces ahead of a dog. The latter pursues the former for 250 paces, when the two are 30 paces apart. In how many further paces will the two come together?"

"In Europe it appears, however, among the propositions *ad acuendos jubenēs* attributed to Alcuin, (8th century) in the form of hound pursuing the hare and thereafter it was looked upon as one of the stock questions of European mathematics. I have run across it in Italian manuscripts of c. 1440, it is in Petzensteiner's work of 1483, Calandri used it in 1491, Pacioli gives it in his *Suma* of 1494, and most of the writers of any prominence in the sixteenth century embodied it in their lists" so said Smith.⁴

There is another such problem found in the *Bākhsālī Ms.* a similar to which appears in Cardan's *practica arithmetice* (1539). The Indian problem is "A travels at a distance a_1 the first day, $a_1 + d$ the second day and so on; B travels a_2 the first day, $a_2 + d_2$ the second day and so on. When will they have travelled equal distances?"

1 Kaye's *Bākh. Ms.* p. 43, Art. 83 (i).

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vi, 337½/2.

3 Mikami - *Development of mathematics in China and Japan*, p. 16,

4 On the origin of typical problems, *Loc. cit.* p. 70.

5 Kaye's *Bākh. Ms.* p. 43 Art. 83 (2).

Cardan's problem was: "It is 100 miles from Florence to Rome. Four companions start from Florence to go to Rome. The first goes 1 mile the first day, 2 the second, 3 the next increasing by a mile each day. The second goes 1 mile the first day, 3 the second, 5 the third, increasing by 2 miles a day. The 3rd goes 2 the first, 4 the second, 6 the third, increasing by 2 miles a day. The fourth goes 4 miles the first day, 8 the second, 12 the third, increasing by 4 miles each day. If they wish to reach Rome together, how many days after the first should each start? "

It has already been pointed out by Vera Sanford that another variant was the application of the idea to conjunction of two planets, which in India began from Bhāskara I (522 A. D.)², and which was discussed by Trenchant, Cardan and Vender Hricke in the sixteenth century in Europe.³

The origin of this type of problems has often been traced to Zeno's paradox. The appearance of the hare problem in the "Nine sections" however puts it to an earlier date. But it appears that none of the two above mentioned views is correct. There is another variant of the problem as to the occurrence of the new moon. The astronomical cycles, too, involve the idea of finding the interval when the Sun and the Moon, starting from the same place, will meet again at the same place. These last variants were known to the civilised world many centuries before Zero's paradox or the "nine sections". The earliest applications of these can be traced to the Caldeans and the oldest Indian reference is in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (1200 B. C.).

The next problems that we shall discuss are those on progression. The standard illustrations of the problems that depend on the idea of progression, both arithmetic and geometrical, are the problems of gift. Thus for instance, problems on A. P. in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṁgraha*⁴ "A certain excellent Śrāvaka gave

1 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit p. 73.

2 Vera Sanford and others attributed to Brahmagupta (628) the credit for the first application of the idea. But now it is known that it was first applied by Bhāskara I (522).

3 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 74 & 75.

4 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṁgraha*, II, 66.

gems in offering to 5 temples (one after another). Commencing the offering with 2 (२ gems) and then increasing (it successively) by 3 (gems) O you ! who know how to calculate, mention what their total number is." Exactly similar problems were given by Prithudak¹ : "The king bestowed gold continually on venerable priests during three days and ninth part giving one and a half (bhāras) with a daily increase of a quarter. What were the mean, the last term and the total."

Another problem was : "A man gave his son-in-law sixteen pānas the first day, and diminished the presents by two a day. If thou be conversant with progression,² say how many had he bestowed when the ninth day was past³ ?"

Bhāskara too gives such problems³ :

"A person having given four drammas to priests on the first day, proceeded, my friend, to distribute daily alms at a rate increasing by five a day. Say quickly how many were given by him in half a month."

"A person gave three drammas on the first day, and continued to distribute alms increasing by two a day and he thus bestowed on the priest three hundred and sixty drammas. Say quickly in how many days."

The elements of the problem in G. P. are also the same i. e. they are also based on gift where however the gift progresses geometrically. Thus Mahāvīra gives⁴ : "Having first obtained 2 gold coins (in some city) a man goes from city to city, earning everywhere three times. Say how much he will make in the eighth city ?" Prithudak Swami gives⁵ "How much³ is given in ten days, by one, who bestows six with a threefold increase daily ?"

In the *Līlāvātī*,⁶ we find : "A person gave a mendicant a

1 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 290.

2 Ibid, p. 290.

3 Ibid. Rule 120 of *Līlāvātī*.

4 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* II, 96-99.

5 Colebrook, p. 291.

6 Ibid. translation of *Līlāvātī*, Rule 128.

couple of cowry shells first and promised a twofold increase of the alms daily. How many niskas does he give in a month ? ”

Similar problems in A. P. based on *gi't* is found in Europe in the works of the 16th century and onwards. Thus in Clavius (1583)¹ we find : “ An emperor promises 100 scundi to the last of his 20 captains to scale the enemy's wall, 130 to the one who is next to the last, 160 to the one next before that and so on. The question is how much did he give in his rewards and how much did the first captain give ? ”

There is another problem on A. P. found in Prithudak Swami's commentary where the prices of the counc shells are progressive arithmetically : “ Tell the price of the 7th counc, the first one being worth six pānas, and the rest increasing by a pāna² ? ”

After the penetration of oriental ideas in Europe, particularly when Hindu mathematics became well-known Buteo (1526) gave a similar problem with a modification to illustrate geometrical progression. It may be doubted that the problem of Buteo was taken from some lost work on Hindu mathematics or even it may be that the Problem of A. P. was borrowed with an attempt to conceal the fact of borrowal.

There is another type of problem in Hindu mathematics often used to find the sum of the squares of the natural numbers. Thus in Prithudak Swami³ we find : “ To find the contents of a pile of quadrates with period 5. (Having one at the top and the length and breadth increasing by one in each successive layer) ”. We find also in the *Ganita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra⁴ : “ There is constructed an equilateral quadrilateral structure consisting of 5 layers. The topmost layer is made up of one brick. O you, who know the calculation of mixed problems, tell me how many bricks are there ? ”

China shows itself in the variant given by Chen Huo (1011-1075) who states that the uppermost layer consists of 2 kegs and

1 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. 57.

2 Colebrook, p. 290.

3 Colebrook, p. 293.

4 *Ganita-sāra-saṃgraha*, Rule 331/2.

the lowest of 12 kegs, there are 11 layers. To find the number of kegs. Ans. 649.¹

Another type of problem that pleased the attention of our fore-fathers was that of apportionment of shares in proportion to capital. In the work of Brahmagupta (628 A. D.) although we do not find any problem of this nature, there is however a rule by which such problems are to be solved. The rule in question is: "The contributions taken into profit divided by the sum of the contributions are the several gains; or if there be subtractive or additive differences into the profit increased or decreased by the differences and the product has the corresponding difference subtracted or added".² His commentator Prithudak dictated a problem to illustrate the rule. His problem was "A horse was purchased with the principal sums, one &c. upto nine, dealers in partnership and was sold by them for five less than five hundred. Tell me, what was each man's share of the mixt amount".³ Similar problems also occur in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*,⁴ *Trisatikā*⁵ and *Līlāvati*.⁶

The actual basis of these problems may be traced to an universal custom, the oldest Indian reference of which is found in the 4th century B. C. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, we find a direction that "shares may be allotted in proportion to.....or to the capital invested".⁷

Like many other problems, this too touched the eyes of the European scholars of the Renaissance period. Fibonacci (1202) of whom we already remarked to have indirectly borrowed from some Indian work, gave a typical form of these problems: "⁸ "Two men form a partnership. One contributes 18 pounds, the other 25. The profits are 7 pound. What is the share of each?"

1 Mikami. *Development of mathematics in China and Japan*, p. 62.

2 and 3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 288.

4 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vi, 86½/2.

5 *Bib. Math.*, Loc. cit. Art. 93 of *Līlāvati*.

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. Art. 93 of *Līlāvati*.

7 Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Tr. of R. Sham Shastri, p. 209.

8 Vera Sanford, p. 43.

There was another of type problem which may be said to be typical to Hindu mathematics. These are problems for arriving at certain results in required proportion. This type of problems occurs in *Trīśatikā*¹ (c. 750 A. D.), *Ganita-sūtra-saṃgraha* (850 A. D.)² and in the *Līlāvātī* (1150 A. D.)³. The problem as it occurs in the *Līlāvātī* is as follows:—"If three and a half manas of rice may be had for one *dramma* and eight of kidney beans for the like price, take these thirteen *cacinis*, merchant! and give me two parts of rice and one of kidney beans, for we must take a hasty meal and depart, since my companions will proceed onwards."

We next come to another type of problems which treats of arriving at equal amounts of wealth, after mutually exchanging any desired amount. These problems can be traced from the Bākhsālī Ms and are found to have occurred in the *Ganita-sūtra-saṃgraha* and the *Līlāvātī*. A typical form is:—"One possesses seven horses, another nine mules and a third ten camels. Each gives one of his animals to each of the others and then their possessions become of equal value."⁴

Another variant of these problems is on the presentation of the gems. The problem in the *Ganita-sūtra-saṃgraha* is:—"The first man had 6 azure blue gems, the second man had 7 emeralds and the other—the third man—had 8 diamonds. Each one giving to each the value of a single gem, became equal to others. What is the value of the gem of each variety?"⁵ That of *Līlāvātī* is: "Four jewellers possessing respectively 8 rubies, 10 sapphires, a hundred pearls and five diamonds, presented each from his own stock, one a piece to the others in token of regard and gratification at meeting and they thus became owners of stock of precisely equal value. Tell me friend, what are the prices of the gems respectively."⁶

1 *Bib. Math.* Loc. cit. p. 212, Art. 38.

2 *Ganita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. Rule 90¹/2 and 91¹/2,

3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. *Līlā*, 97, Vij. 115.

4 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh Ms. p. 41.

5 *Ganita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. vi. 164.

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 99 of *Līlāvātī* C/o Vij. 111.

Problems on Remainder theorems, as it transpires from the available evidences, originated with the Chinese. Its earliest treatment that can be traced to any Hindu work is in that of Āryabhata. In later works it is found in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*: "When divided by 2 the remainder is 1, when by 3 it is 2, when by 4 it is 3, when by 5 it is 4. Tell me O friend! what the heap is?"¹ Next we find in the *Vijaganita* of Bhāskara "What number is it which being divided by six has five for the remainder, or divided by five has a residue of four, or divided by three leaves two?"²

The Chinese problem, the earliest trace of which is found in the *Sun-Tsu Suan-Ching* (58-75 A. D.), is stated as: "There are certain things whose number is unknown. Repeatedly divided by 8 the remainder is 2, by 5 the remainder is 3 and by 7 the remainder is 2. What will be the number?"³

This chronological sequence, however, speaks of the Chinese origin of the problem. But there are some reasons to believe that the Chinese obtained the problem from some other sources. Prof. Gino Loria rightly points out that the problem lies in the midst of a collection of problems, without the slightest indication, that Sun-Tsu regards the problem as more interesting or valuable than its trivial companions.⁴ Prof. Mikami, too, shares the same opinion. What is this source? In the absence of any other evidence, it may be conjectured that this source must be some lost Buddhist work. There are two reasons, however, to support it and the first of them is that "All the subjects treated by Sun-Tsu were those that had been given in the "Arithmetic in nine sections", but the problem of indeterminate analysis first appeared in the above in Sun-Tsu. The second reason is embodied in the fact that the work contains some such as "Chang-an" and "Lo-yang" and "Buddhist works" all of which are assuredly of no origin of Pre-Chin era, "but that it was written after Buddhism was introduced into China."⁵

1 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. vi, 123½.

2 Colebrook, *Vijaganita*, 160,

3 Mikami's work, Loc. cit, p, 32

4 Gino Loria, Debt of Mathematics to Chinese people". *The Scientific Monthly*, June 1927.

5 See Mikami's work, Loc. cit, p. 25,

The last problem in Algebra which I shall undertake, to investigate the origin of, is based upon the application of indeterminate equation to a problem commonly known as that of "Hundred Fowls". Problems, bearing the same mathematical idea, appear in the Indian mathematical works from the early centuries of the Christian era. We have, for instance, in the Bākhsālī work, nearly complete statement and solution to the following pair of equations¹ :—

$$x + y + z = 20.$$

$$3x + \frac{2}{3}y + \frac{1}{2}z = 20.$$

of which the only solution in positive integers is $x = 2$, $y = 5$, $z = 13$. In Mahāvīra, we find the problem in the following form² :—"Pigeons are sold at the rate of 5 for 3 (Pānas), Sārāsa birds at the rate of 7 for 5 (Pānas) and peacocks at the rate of 3 for 9 (Pānas). A certain man was told to bring at these rates 100 birds for 100 Pānas for the amusement of the king's son and was sent to do so. What (amount) does he give for each (of the various kinds of birds that he buys)?" Bhāskara, too, gave exactly the same problem in his *Vijagaṇita*.³

In china the problem was given by Chang-Chin-Chien (6th century A. D.).⁴ About 900 A. D. it was pretty fully treated by Abu-Kāmel Al-Misri who gives some six problems, varying from three to five terms and attempts to find all the integral solutions.⁵ In Europe, the problem made its appearance for the first time in the 8th century and was given by Alcuin.⁶

As to the origin of the problem, Prof. Smith's suggestion that "the problem originated in the East"⁷ deserves appreciation. But his suggestion that the problem found its way into India from China, seems to be another apt illustration of *argumentum*

1 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh. p. 42, Art. 80.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*, vi. 152.

3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. *Vijagaṇita*, 158.

See Mikami's work, Loc cit, p. 43.

5 See Dickson. *Theory of numbers* II. p. 77.

6 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 93.

7 Smith — *History of Math.* II. 586,

ex silentio. True it is, we have no direct evidence to show that the problem is of Indian origin by establishing the priority of its appearance in India, except the solution of similar problems in the Bākhsāli Ms, which is believed with good reasons by authorities like Hoernle¹ and Dr. Datta² to be a work of the early centuries of the Christian era. The problem, on the other hand, with its solution occurs in such a way that the Chinese do not appear to have understood the mystery of the analysis of this kind. This strongly suggests that they obtained the problem with its solution from some other source. The determination of this source would be an important piece of work and what I can point out in this connection is that earlier than the sixth century it were the Hindus only that arrived at a general solution of the linear indeterminate equation.³

In Geometry, there are certain problems whose place and time of origin, we cannot ascertain today. But the fact of their appearance in the works of Prithudak and Mahāvira who lived at the same time, but in parts of India widely separated from each other show that they were ancient problems and became typical of Hindu mathematics by ninth century. These problems are :—

1. What is the area of an isosceles triangle the base of which is 10 and the sides 13 ?⁴
2. What is the area of a scalene triangle, the base of which is 14 and the sides 13+15 ?⁵
3. From a tree 100 cubits high, an ape descended and went to a pond 200 cubit distant, while another ape vaulting to some height off the tree proceeded with velocity diagonally to the same spot. If the space travelled by them be equal, tell me quickly

1 *Ind. Antiq.* xvii, p. 36.

2 *Bākh. Math. Bull. Cal. Math. Soc.* xxi. p. 57. Reprint, p. 57.

3 *Āryabhatīyam Gaṇitapāda*, Verses 33-34.

4 Colebrook, *Loc. cit.* p. 295, *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii. 52.

5 Colebrook, *Loc. cit.* p. 295, comp. *Triṣaṭikā*, Sudhākara's Edition, 81 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii. 10, 53.

learned man, the height of the leap, if thou have diligently studied calculation.¹

Three other problems are found to have occurred in Prithudak Swami's commentary and Śrīdhara's *Trisatikā*. These problems also seem to be typical to Hindu mathematics. These are :—

1. What is the area of a quadrilateral having three equal sides 25 and base 39 ?²

2. What is the area of a quadrilateral with two equal sides thirteen, base fourteen and summit four ?³

3. Tell the gross area of a trapezium, of which the base is sixty, the summit twenty-five and the fifty-two and thirty-nine.⁴

Two other problems in Geometry, on the miscalled Pythagorean theorem, highly speaks of India's cultural relation with her neighbour China. These two problems are :—

1. If a bamboo, measuring 32 cubit and standing upon a level ground, be broken in one place, by a force of the wind, and the tip of it meet the ground at 16 cubit, say mathematician, at how many cubits from the root is it broken ?⁵

2. In a certain lake with ruddy geese and cranes, the tip of a bud of lotus was seen a span above the surface of the water. Forced by the wind, it gradually advanced and was submerged at the distance of two cubits. Compute quickly, mathematician, the depth of water.⁶

1 Colebrook, Loc. cit. see 155 of *Līlāvati*, 39 of Brahmagupta (Problem given by the com.). *Ganita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii, 190¹/2 - 200¹/2.

2 Colebrook, p. 296, *Trisatikā*, Sudhākara's Ed. Ex. 79.

3 *Ibid.* p. 296. *Ibid.* Ex. 78

4 *Ibid.* *Ibid.* Ex. 80.

5 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 148 of *Līlāvati*. Art 41 of Brahmagupta. (The Problem is given by commentator). *Ganita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii, 192¹/2. Mikāmis work, Loc. cit. p. 23

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 153 of *Līlāvati*, 41 of Brahmagupta (commentator's note), Mikami's work, p. 22,

These problems are found to have appeared in China in the third century B. C. in the *Chiu-Chang Suan-Shu* which seem to speak of a Chinese influence on Hindu mathematics. But I have elsewhere¹ shown that it does not seem that the Indian borrowed only one problem (this one) from the Chinese which if it be true, would be the only instance of Indian indebtedness to China in a cultural relation of these two nations extending over such a long period and in so varied branches of learning.

1 Self. "Relation of Hindu and Chinese mathematics." — A typed copy is preserved in the Controller's office, c. u. (Thesis to which the Griffith's Memorial Prize was adjudged).

NĀGARA APABHRAṂŚĀ AND NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

BY

PROF. N. B. DIVATIĀ, B. A.

The March and April numbers of this year's Indian Antiquary contain an extremely interesting and enlightening article on "The Nāgar Brāhmins and the Bengal Kāyasthas", contributed by Dr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar. There are two incidental statements in that article which at once arrest attention and challenge inquiry. They are as under :—

- (a) "He (i. e. Hemacandra) not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates, Nāgara Apabhramśa." (Ind. Ant. April 1932, p. 66)
- (b) "As a matter of fact, the Nāgara Brāhmanas to this day use the Nāgarī script though they live in Gujarat and Kathiawar, surrounded by people who employ nothing but the Gujarati character for their vernacular." (Ibid, p. 67)

I shall take up (b) first, it being comparatively a smaller issue. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards this as a *most noteworthy fact*; and so it would be. But is it a fact at all? To me who am a Nāgara of Ahmedabad and for over half a century in permanent touch with the Nāgaras of Gujarat and Kathiavad, the statement comes quite as news to me. On reading it I rubbed my eyes more than once, questioned several Nāgaras of Gujarat and Kathiavad and they all expressed unqualified surprise at the statement. I have with me my father's writing in letters, diaries, manuscripts of his works etc.; they are all in current Gujarati script. This would carry us back to over a century (my father died in 1886 at the age of 63). The experience of the other members of my community must be similar. [I may state incidentally that during Persian influence from Delhi there were Nāgaras of Ahmedabad who wrote the *gāyatrī mantra* (तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो etc.) in the Persian script!] If Dr. Bhandarkar received occasional letters in Devanāgarī character

written by correspondents from Gujarat Kathiavad, for instance persons like the late Vallabhaji Haridatta Ācārya of Junagadh, who may have used that script in the hope of being understood by a Maratha Brāhmana, it would be dangerous to generalize on such meagre data. If Dr. Bhandarkar has any extensive evidence on this point I should be delighted to know it. For a greater issue depends on the correct answer on this point: viz. That the name Nāgarī Script was given to it because the Nāgara Brāhmanas used it. I do not forget the proper value of the several facts advanced by Dr. Bhandarkar as to the existence of the name Nāgarī for the script through several centuries, even since the time when, in the middle of the fifth century, the Jain religious work, Nandi-Sūtra was written, - which includes Nāgarī as one of the eighteen scripts learned by the Tīrthamkara Ṛsabhadeva. But to connect this mention with the Nāgara Caste involves an unwarranted jump. I would only ask one question: what about the name, *Devanāgarī* for the script? Whence came the first member, *Deva*, in this compound? And how do we connect it with the Nāgara Caste? May not the name *Nāgarī* have been but a natural abbreviation of the term, *Devanāgarī*? Śāstrī Vrajalāla Kālidāsa consistently calls the script *Devanagarī* not *Devanāgarī* in his *Gujarati-Bhāṣā-no-Itihāsa* (pp. 69 ff) written in 1866 A. D. Not being at all acquainted with English he could not have mistaken the nā (in English) for na (in English). This is not without a significance of its own.

It seems that Dr. Bhandarkar's basis for his statement is, after all, an earlier assertion (more or less unwarranted) made by Sir George Grierson. Thus, Sir George in the L. S. I. vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 327, n. 2, says: "At the present day, they (i. e. the Nāgaras) employ the Nāgarī and not the Gujarati character for their writings."

Again at p. 338 (para 4) of the same work Sir George says:

"Two alphabets are employed for writing Gujarati. One is the ordinary Devanāgarī. It is not much used now-a-days, *except by special tribes, such as the Nāgara Brāhmanas*, but the first printed Gujarati books were in that character. The other script is known as the Gujarati alphabet, and is the one in general use."

Once again, at p. 378 in introducing a specimen of what he quaintly calls Nāgarī-Gujarati" (a dialect which does not really exist), he repeats the assertion thus :

"At the present day they employ the Devanāgarī, and not the Gujarati character, as will be seen from the specimen annexed. "

The specimen is printed (probably as received) in Devanāgarī. The locus for this so-called Nāgarī Gujarati is given at the top of the specimen as "Bombay Town and Island." Such a locus for his specimen is really strange. Evidently someone, for reasons best known to himself, sent this specimen written in this character. I repeat with all the emphasis I can command that to me, a Nāgara living and with over 70 years behind me, this assertion, which gains nothing by repetition, is entirely opposed to facts. I may incidentally mention that the first printed Gujarati books were printed in Devanāgarī under certain special circumstances which it would be needless to dilate upon.

Another little point: Dr. Bhandarkar relies mainly on the article on "The Nagars and Nagari Alphabet" (J. A. S. B., LXV, Pt. 1, p. 114 ff) by Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu. I shall have to deal with an important point in that article soon below. Here I could touch one of Mr. Vasu's statements extracted from that article by Mr. Manshankar P. Mehta in his Gujarati booklet on *Nāgarotpatti*. Referring to p. 124 of that article he tells us that any Nāgara Brāhmanas have been now settled in many parts of the Deccan and they even now *write their religious books in Nāgarī script*. Well, — what of that? Religious books, presumably in Sanskrit language, would naturally be found written in Nāgarī character. Facts of this nature can render very little help in drawing the required inference. A similar remark would apply to Dr. Bhandarkar's observation based on the fact that the *religious books* of certain Bengal Mahomedans were written in Nāgarī character (p. 67 of Ind. Ant. April 1932).

I may ask one question before I take leave of this part of my title: Sir George Grierson (L. S. I. Vol. IX pt. II, p. 338) mentions the Kāithī script in vogue all over Northern India and says that the Gujarati script closely resembles it. (The plates 1, 2, 3,

in the article on Modern Indian Vernaculars at the end of this April number of Ind. Ant. clearly shows this resemblance, which is more or less close). If this was named after the Kayastha, as presumably it was, and if the Kayasthas, as so well demonstrated by Dr. Bhandarkar, were Nāgaras,—why should the name Nāgarī given to the *bālabodha* script be related to the Nāgaras? Nay, Kāithī script would really have been the script taken along by the Nāgaras with them as human nature's daily food—and not the Nāgarī which naturally would be reserved for occasional use.

It is high time now for taking up the first issue (a).

Well, who really started the myth that Hemacandra treated Nāgara Apabhramśa in his grammar? Ever since I saw Sir George Grierson's statements, scattered incidentally over several places, in this connection, I have been wondering what authority Sir George had for stating that Hemacandra treated Nāgara Apabhramśa. Here are his statements:---

- (1) "This (i. e. the Nāgara form of Śaurasena Apabhramśa) was the Apabhramśa with which the grammarian Hemacandra (fl. 12th century A. D.) was acquainted, and which he made the basis of his work on that language." (L. S. I. vol. IX, pt. II p. 327)
- (2) "The close connection of this old Gujarati with the *Gurjara Apabhramśa of the Prakrit Grammarians* is remarkable." (Article on the *Mugdhāvabodha Mauktika* (sic? *Auktika*) in J. R. A. S., 1902 p. 537 ff reproduced bodily in L. S. I vol. IX pt. II, pp. 353-364 (This sentence is found in the opening paragraph of the article).
- (3) In his chapter on Language in the *Census of India Report* (vol. I pt. I chap. VII. 503, p. 305) he calls *Gaurjari* a dialect of *Nāgara Apabhramśa* parent of modern Gujarati.

Now, Hemacandra has nowhere in his *Siddha Hemacandra* (Prakrit Section) called his *Apabhramśa* by the name *Nāgara Apabhramśa*. It is therefore not easy to understand Sir George's statement noted in (1) above. The earliest Grammarian who

has spoken of Nāgara and Upanāgara as branches of Apabhraṃśa is Mārkaṇḍeya (flourished at the earliest about the middle of the 15th century after Hemacandra : see my *Gujarati Language and Literature* vol. I p. 261). In the opening portion of the first Pāda of his *Prākṛta Sarvasva*, Mārkaṇḍeya says :—

7. नागरा प्राचडश्चोपनागरश्चेति ते त्रयः ।

अपभ्रंशाः परे सूक्ष्मभेदत्वान्न पृथङ्मताः ॥

एषु त्रिष्वन्येषामन्तर्भावं तत्रैव वक्ष्यामः ।

And at the close of his eighteenth Pāda he shows this omnibus inclusion by enumerating about twenty various dialects of which *Gaurjarī* is one.

I say Mārkaṇḍeya was the earliest grammarian to give the name Nāgara to his Apabhraṃśa, because he has not been preceded by any other in this statement, so far as can be ascertained. True, Rāmaśarman (Tarkavāgiśa) agrees word for word with Mārkaṇḍeya in his account of the minor Apabhraṃśas. But, as Sir George, in his private letter to me, dated 8th December 1924 states the date of Rāmaśarman is unknown (to him). He adds :—

“ Either Mārkaṇḍeya copied from him or else copied from an earlier writer (? Lankeśvara), for the account of the minor Apabhraṃśa dialects in their two works is almost word for word the same.”

However, in view of the uncertainty of Rāmaśarman's date, and certain internal indications, to be stated later on, that Mārkaṇḍeya probably preceded Rāmaśarman, Mārkaṇḍeya may be regarded as the earliest grammarian of known date who spoke of and treated Nāgara Apabhraṃśa. In any case Hemacandra cannot be connected with that name (Nāgara) for his Apabhraṃśa. Lakṣmidhara who, in spite of the variation in the arrangement of his *Sūtras* in his *Ṣaḍbhasācandrikā*; virtually follows Hemacandra's grammar, speaks of Apabhraṃśa, pure and simple, — not Nāgara Apabhraṃśa. I shall later on show that Lakṣmidhara preceded Mārkaṇḍeya. The date accepted by me for Mārkaṇḍeya is merely tentative and simply marks the earliest limit. Sir George Grierson, in his letter referred to a little while ago, supports this view. He says there :—

"About the date of Mārkaṇḍeya, I have always admitted that it is doubtful. At present, it all depends on the date of Raja Vira Mukundadeva of Orissa. The best known king of that name flourished about 1664, but there were others of the same name. I am, however, inclined to think that Mārkaṇḍeya cannot have lived many centuries ago, for his village, Birapratāpapura or Birapura is well-known, and there is a field there still associated with his name."

Rāmaśarman, it is true, mentions and treats *Nāgara*, *Vrācaḍa* and *Upanāgara* varieties of Apabhramśa in almost the same way as Mārkaṇḍeya (see the *Apabhramśa Stabaka* Ind. Ant. 1923, pp. 2, 3, 4). But as we noted above the date of Rāmaśarman is unknown; and thus it is difficult to dogmatize whether he preceded, or followed Mārkaṇḍeya, or whether both were contemporaries. I shall give reasons later on for the view that Rāmaśarman followed Mārkaṇḍeya. There is, however, a decidedly earlier grammarian, Kramadīśvara (1300 A. D. according to Dr. Belvalkar) who, *just incidentally* mentions *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*; i. e. less than two centuries after Hemacandra these dialects were known in some parts of India. But a regular treatment of these seems to have been left to Mārkaṇḍeya at least a century and a half later, if we accept his earliest date 1450 A. D. Thus, my contention that Mārkaṇḍeya is the earliest grammarian who mentions and treats *Nāgara Apabhramśa* stands.

But Dr. Devadatta takes us far back to 1150 A. D. and accepting Nagendra Natha Vasu's views, places Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa in that date and states that he, Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, enumerated 27 Apabhramśas two out of which were *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. (Ind. Ant. April 1932 p. 66). [Dr. Devadatta puts the weight of Sir George Grierson's authority in the scale in his favour by referring us to Sir George's statement at p. 152 of Ind. Ant. Vol. XL. All I find there is that Sir George calls N. N. Vasu's article interesting without committing himself to any view about Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, and he again dwells on his obsession that Nāgaras even now write in Nāgarī script.] I shall soon below show that Dr. Devadatta's reliance on Nagendra Natha Vasu's date (1150 A. D.) for Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is but a case of dependence on a very fragile reed. But Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar's next step is not easy to understand: He states :—

"In the same period (as Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa) lived Hemacandra. He not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates the *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*." (Ind. Ant. April 1932 p. 66).

In his foot-note Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar cites as his authority for this statement, Sir George Grierson's L. S. I. vol. IX pt. II p. 327. I have already at the outset of my examination of this issue (a) questioned the correctness of this statement of Sir George, for, I repeat emphatically, Hemacandra has nowhere mentioned, described or illustrated *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*; or, to put it more accurately, Hemacandra has nowhere given to the *Apabhraṃśa* of his grammar the name *Nāgara*.

But, curiously enough, to this specific reliance on Sir George Grierson's statement, Dr. Bhandarkar adds, by a subtle implication which can hardly be called a logical inference or even corollary, a hint that Hemacandra and Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa dealt with *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* as a subject known commonly to both by some curious mental influence. Anyhow if we can show that this reliance on Nagendra Nath Vasu for the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is futile, the whole fabric is bound to tumble down. Well, then, what is Nagendra Nath Vasu's authority for 1150 A. D. as the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa ?

In his article entitled " *Nāgaras and Nāgarī Alphabet* " (J. A. S. Beng. vol. LXV, 1896 A. D.)--to which Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar refers at page 66 of his article as his authority, Nagendra Nath Vasu states as under:—

P. 116. " About 750 years ago Pandit Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa thus gives an account of different languages in his *Prākṛta Candrikā*:—

(Here follows a list of 27 *Apabhraṃśa* dialects which includes *Upajāgara* and *Nāgara*). It is clear from the above *ślokas* that like the Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasēnī, &c. which derived their names from the provinces or their people, the corrupt forms of languages, viz. *Nāgara*, *Upajāgara* and *Daiva* were current in some part of the country whose name they bear. "

Foot-note to this is important. It runs thus:—

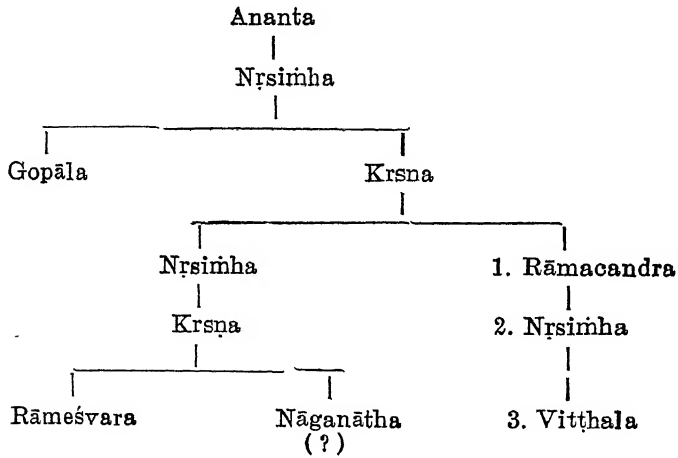
"Also known under the name of Kṛṣṇa Pandit, son of Narasimha, sprung in the Śeṣa Vamśa. According to Dr. Bhandarkar the

probable date of Rāmacandra nephew of Śesa Kṛṣṇa is about 1150 A. D. (R. G. Bhandarkar's Report of Sanskrit Mss. 1883-84, p. 59).

Now on looking up Dr. Bhandarkar's Report relied on by Mr. Vasu, what do I find at p. 59 and p. 60? Dr. Bhandarkar computes that--

- (a) A great grandson of Rāmacandra lived in 1527 A. D.
- (b) Therefore Rāmacandra himself must have lived about 1450 A. D.

The genealogy worked out is as under:--

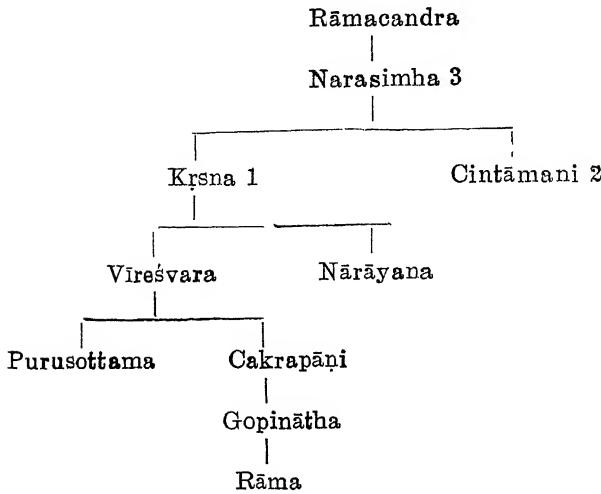


Out of these repetitions of names, one thing which stands out clearly is that Rāmacandra's uncle is not Śesa Kṛṣṇa; and that Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar does not give 1150 A.D. but 1450 A. D. as the date of Rāmacandra. Of the two *Nṛsiṃha sūta* Kṛṣṇas one would be Rāmacandra's father, the other his nephew. In either case they (Kṛṣṇa and Rāmacandra) would not be three centuries apart. How and whence, in the face of 1450 A. D. for Rāmacandra, did Nagendra Nath get 1150 A. D. for (Śesa Kṛṣṇa) the nephew, (1096 A. D. year of N. N. Vasu's paper = 1900; 1900 minus 750

=1150 A. D.), it is beyond me to conjecture even. And, besides, nowhere in these pages 59-60 does Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar give Śeṣa as the family name of any of the members in this genealogical tree. However, curiously enough, the Ms. U. Ū. in Appedix III of the report (which contains the work of Rāmacandra viz. *Prakriyā Kaumudī*) is followed by a Ms. VV, *Rasamañjarī* and its commentary, the latter being written by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, son of Śeṣa Nṛsimha. In fact this is where we find the Śeṣa family and Nṛsimha as the father of one Cintāmaṇi. It seems that number 1 2 3 are the names for us, that number 2 had, besides Viṭṭhala, two other sons Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa, and that Dr. Bhandarkar's genealogy given at p. 59 of his report was of the Śeṣa family; it is only difficult to guess why the *praśāsti* from which the family tree was constructed omitted the *Vaṃśa* name. It is possible, and I hope permissible, to combine this family tree with another, to be presented later on very soon, and place Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa therefrom as brothers of Viṭṭhala (no. 3) in the above tree.

For, we need no longer wander in the wilds of conjecture. We have conclusive evidence about the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. If Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar had referred to the *Chronological conspectus* placed in the paper pocket of the cover of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's valuable work "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar", he would have seen Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa placed in 1600-1650 A. D. This is not the conclusive evidence which I mean. It is found in an enlightening, lucid, and well arranged article, entitled "The Śeṣas of Benares" written by S. P. V. Ranganātha Svāmi in Ind. Ant. November 1912 vol. XLI pp. 245 ff. I shall take only salient and pertinent matter therefrom :

The family-tree constructed from the *Sūkti-Ratnākara* of Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa is as below :—



(Notes :— (a) To 1 & 2 (Kṛṣṇa & Cintāmaṇi) I add Viṭṭhala by combining with the tree given in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, as already stated above.

(b) Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar assigns the date 1450 A. D. to Rāmacandra. Ranganātha Svāmi's article states that Nṛsimha (No. 3) belongs to the first half of the sixteenth century (i. e. about 1550 A. D.) A span of something about one century between father and son would seem too big. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's date is inferential, and we can adjust the difference by shifting the dates a decade or two at each end. However, this process may prove defective after all.

Works of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa

Ranganātha Svāmi gives a list of 10 or 11 works of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, out of which the following three are noteworthy for our purpose :

(a) प्रक्रियाप्रकाशः A commentary on his grandfather's प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभः.

Note : This establishes a link between Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's tree and Ranganātha Svāmi's tree, enabling us to add Viṭṭhala's name among the sons of Nṛsimha; as Viṭṭhala wrote प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभ-प्रसाद, as his commentary on Rāmacandra's work.

(b) प्राकृतचन्द्रिका— A grammar in metre of what Rangasvāmi terms the Jaina Prakrit dialects.

Note :— The dialect, Prakrit, the first of the six is termed आर्ष in this work and it does not treat of Apabhramśa as it is an unimportant dialect ; He says

तच्चार्षं मागधी शौरसेनी पैशाचिकी तथा ।
चूलिका पैशाचिकं चापभ्रंशश्चेति पट्टविधम् ॥

And at the end of work he tells us :

अपभ्रंशस्तु यो भेदः पष्ठः सोऽत्र न लक्ष्यते ।

Thus he brushes away Apabhramśa as negligible on these grounds :

देशभाषादितुल्यत्वान्नाटकादावदर्शनात् ।
अनत्यन्तोपयोगाच्चातिप्रसङ्गभयादपि ॥

But Nagendra Natha Vasu has quoted the list of 27 dialects given (as he believes) by Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa in his work, wherein he includes Nāgara and Upanāgara as varieties of Apabhramśa.

(c) कंसवधम् — A play.

This furnishes conclusive clue to the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. This play No. 6 in the *Kāvyamālā* series, shows in the *Sūtradhāra's* prologue (*prastāvanā*) that Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa was a contemporary of Giridhara, son of Raja Todarmal, the finance minister of Akbar the Great. Raja Todarmal died in 1586 A. D.; so his son, argues Rangasvāmī, must have lived in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa thus flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

How in the face of this clear evidence, can anyone seriously accept the unwarranted date, 1150 A. D.? The range between 1150 and 1625 is so wide that we cannot conceive any element of reconciliation. However let us try to be accurate. The footnote at the beginning of the play says:—

एतन्नाटकं ज्ञानेनाकबरमन्त्रिणो राजातोडरमल्लनाम्नः पुत्रस्य गोवर्धनधारी-
त्यपरनाम्नो गिरिधारिणः प्रेरणया प्रणीतम् ।

And on this basis the *tippanī*-writer says that the author flourished in Akbar's time in the latter half of the sixteenth century A. D. But in the *prastāvanā* itself the *Sūtradhāra* informs the *Naṭī* after stating who Giridhara is,

तेन चाहं सबहुमानमाहूय ससमाजेनादिष्टोऽस्मि ।
 पृथ्वीमण्डलमौलिमण्डनमणिः श्रीमन्नुसिंहात्मजः
 कृत्वा कृष्णकविं कुतूहलवशादस्माच्छ यन्न्यक्षिपत् ।
 नाट्यं कंसवधाभिधानमधुना तस्य प्रयोगायैमं
 विद्वद्राजसमाजमानसमहानन्दाय विन्दामहे ॥

which would show that Giridhārī ordered, — not the composition, but — the performance of *Kamsavadham*.

Nevertheless the formalities of a play's *prastāvanā* will explain the apparent discrepancy, and we can take it that the composition was necessarily the result of an invitation from Giridhārī; or at any rate the composition could not be very much earlier than the performance. But once again there is another difficulty in date-fixing. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report p. 60 mentions an unquestioned date, 1527 A. D. (1583 V. S.) as the year in which a great grandson of Rāmacandra copied *Prakriyā Kaumudī* of Rāmacandra. Thus Kṛṣṇa, an uncle of this great grandson, could not have lived 60 years after the year of that copy. Some sort of adjustment will be necessary by assuming that Giridhara ordered the play कंसवधम् a good deal before Todarmal's death in 1586 A. D. Thus Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa may have composed the play, say, somewhere about the last quarter of the 16th century; uncle and nephew could very well be contemporaries, and longevity may easily wipe off other differences. And we may accept the last quarter of the sixteenth century or the first quarter of the seventeenth century as the period when Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa flourished. Thus the fixing of such an early date as 1150 A. D. for Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and his reference at that early date to *Nāgara* and *Ūpajāgara* as varieties out of 27 ones of *Apabhramśa* falls to the ground.

Another incidental statement, a virtual reproduction of Sir George Grierson's statements, made by Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar, may be noted and examined. He says (page 66 of his article) :—

"The language which they (i. e. the *Nāgara Brahmanas*) write, it is true, is ordinary Gujarati, with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarati of other castes." Nevertheless, "they are said to have a dialect of their own, called *Nāgarī Gujarati*." For the statement in quotation marks he refers

us to Sir George's Linguistic Survey, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 378. This is all entirely news to me, a Nāgara myself. For, there is nothing like Nāgarī Gujarati so far as I have known, and the specimen of Nāgarī Gujarati given by Sir George at p. 378 carries with it no linguistic or dialectic features peculiar to the Nāgars. Sir George obtained for his work a translation of an extract from the story of the Prodigal Son from some one in the office of the Collector of Customs. Bombay and located, unwarrantedly, the Nāgara dialect in Bombay town and Island, which in no sense is a Nāgara location. I need not quote the passage, for Sir George virtually gives his case away when he says at the same page, (after stating that the Nāgaras are said to have a dialect of their own called Nāgarī Gujarati) :—

“But their language is ordinary Gujarati with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarati of other castes” (This, by the way, is like the definition संस्कृताद्या गौर्जरी in Mārkaṇḍeya's omnibus list of dialects.)

There are, no doubt a few formal peculiarities in the speech of Nāgaras in a few localities e. g. Karnālī on the banks of the Narmadā, Surat (where they are fast dying out) and Benares; they are such forms as करीशे for करीहुं (future, 1st pers. plural); — करांडां, करइ, for (हुं) करेछे (present tense, 2nd pers., singular), confined to Charotar, which again is disappearing, and a few others. But, one swallow does not make a summer, such stray features do not make a dialect.

Having fairly well fixed the location of Nāgara and Upa-nāgara in the several grammatical works, let us attempt their relative positions. I shall at first apply two tests :—

- (a) The mention, or treatment, of Nāgara and Upa-nāgara;
- (b) The recognition of certain special Apabhraṃśa peculiarities.

I give a list of grammarians for easy reference :—

1. (V) Vararuci 1st quarter of the 4th Century B. C.
2. (H) Hemacandra 1112 A. D. Apabhraṃśa grammar

- | | | |
|---------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| 3. (L) | Laksmīdhara | Early part of 13th Century A. D. |
| 4. (Kr) | Kramadīśvara | 1300 A. D. or later |
| 5. (Mk) | Mārkandeya | 1450 A. D. or later |
| 6. (R) | Ramaśarman | |
| 7. (S) | Śesa Kṛṣṇa | 1576 A. D. or thereabouts. |

Before proceeding further, let us try and verify the dates of the above writers. Vararuci's date is fairly trustworthy, as given by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who at p. 301 of his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, accepts the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the period of the Nandas, i. e. to about the first quarter of the fourth century B. C. Dr. Belvalkar practically assigns him to this date.

Hemacandra's date is undoubted. He was born in 1145 V. S. (= 1089 A. D.) and died in 1229 V. S. (= 1173 A. D.). Vrajalāl Kālidās Śāstrī, in his *Gujarati Bhāṣā-no Itihāsa* (p. 40) tells us that Hemacandra wrote his grammar of Apabhraṃśa in V. S. 1168 (= 1112 A. D.).

Laksmīdhara—K. P. Trivedi (p. 17 of his Introduction to the (*Śaṭbhāṣācandrikā*)) assigns (L) to somewhere before 1532 A. D.

His line of reasoning is this :

"Kumāra Svāmin, son of Mallinātha, quotes Laksmīdhara. Mallinātha flourished in the sixteenth century; for one of his verses occurs in an inscription of A. D. 1532. This makes Laksmīdhara a contemporary of Mallinātha."

How? I cannot grasp. Assuming that the verse in the inscription is a sure index, all one can say is that Mallinātha flourished *before* 1532, not necessarily in the 16th century. Nor is it quite clear why, because Mallinātha's son quotes (L), he (L) was the father's contemporary.

If we reject K. P. Trivedi's date for (L) and assign the thirteenth century to him, we get over the anomaly created by the fact that (Kr) mentions (ever so much as incidentally) the dialects, *Āgāra* and *Upānāgāra*, while (L) strictly adheres to (H) in his utter silence regarding the two dialects. For (L) follows (H) almost religiously except in a few variations and differences in arrangement. (L) reproduces, though with a varying development, (H)'s erroneous views; thus :—

1. (H) has हुच्च as an *ādeśa* for भू with प्र as an *upasarga* when the sense is पर्याप्ति (sufficiency) (भुवः पर्याप्ति हुच्चः VIII iv. 390 ; in *Siddha Hemacandra*). The instance given is अहमि पदुच्चद नादु. Now पदुच्चद really is from प्राप् (प्राप्तेति). Gujarati प्हाँने. It has nothing to do with प्र + भू. I need not discuss the error at length. I have done so in GLL, vol. II, pp. 32-33, pp. 132-3 ; which will soon be out. Now (L) has followed the error but turned पदुच्च into ब्रुच्च (III. iv. 58 ; पर्याप्ति भुवी ब्रुच्चः).

2. Again (H) imagines that हाँ is the ablative suffix in the case of certain pronouns ; his instances being जहाँ होन्तउ आगदो and the like (see his VIII. iv. 355). As a matter of fact the हाँ is the locative suffix and होन्तउ (= भवन्) conveys the ablative idea. I have discussed the question at great length in my article on "The Ablative Termination in Gujarati" (Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee, vol. III, pp 656 ff). Laksmidhara has altered the हाँ to हे and dropped the होन्तउ of (H) in his *sūtra* III. iv. 20 (p. 268), a reduction which wipes off the element of copying. His instance is सव्वहे न जहाँ हाँन्तउ. K. P. Trivedi (Appendix p. 148) compares this ह with H's हाँ. Could (L)'s ह be a mislection for हाँ especially as हे is given for gen. plur. in III. iv. 10 ?

K. P. Trivedi makes (L) contemporary with Mallinātha. As a matter of fact Mallinātha flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century A. D. Mable Duff (page 189) speaks of V. S 1298 (=1242 A. D) as the year in which Narahari, son of Mallinātha was born, and refers us to Peterson's first Report of Sanskrit Mss. p. 25, where we find the parentage of Narahari (viz. Rāmeśvara of Vatsa Gotra father of Narasimhabhatṭa, father of Mallinātha), as given in the introductory verses to Narahari's commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (written under the name, Sarasvatī-tīrtha). Narahari's birth date is there given as under :—

सवसु-ग्रह-हस्तेन ब्रह्मणा समलंकिते ।
 8 9 2 1

काले नरहरेर्जन्म कस्य नासीन्मनोरमम् ॥

(The figures are placed by me.).

If, then, Narahari (Mallinātha's younger son) was born in V. S. 1298 (=1242 A.D.), Mallinātha himself must necessarily be placed say about 1210 A. D. Thus, there is only one century between

(H)'s *Apabhraṃśa* grammar (A. D. 1112) and (L)'s *पद्मभाषाचन्द्रिका*, taking L as Mallinātha's contemporary, earlier though he must have been.

(Kr.) - Dr. Belvalkar has placed (Kr) in 1250 A. D.- 1230 A. D. in his chart. (We have to remember that at the top of his chart he tells us that all the dates are approximate only). He tells us (at page 109 of his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*) that Aufrecht makes (Kr)'s school even anterior to Bopadeva, though Colebrooke places it immediately after. Now "Bopadeva is quoted by Mallinātha (cir. 1350) in his commentary on the *Kumāra*, and he is known to have been the protégé of Hemādri who was a minister to Mahādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri (1200-1271 A. D.) and to his successor Rāmadeva. " (Belvalkar's pp. 104-105). Mallinātha as we have just seen above belonged to the early part of the thirteenth century. Belvalkar's date cir. 1350 is therefore out by a century. Add to this the further statement at p. 109 that (Kr) wrote seven *pādas* of his *Samkṣipta Sāra* (dealing with Sanskrit) earlier and the eighth dealing with Prakrit was added later. Thus, for the purpose of our investigation (Kr) must be placed fairly later, say, about 1300 A. D. , if not later. (Belvalkar's chart shows 1200-1250 A. D. for Bopadeva; but the inquiry in the text takes him right up to 1271 A. D., and even later.)

Mārkaṇḍeya and *Rāmaśarman* : I take them as twins, both because they were apparently closely allied in time, and because their mention and treatment of *Nāgara* and *Upaṇāgara* is almost identical. The occasional differences between (Mk) and (R) are indicated in detail by Sir George Grierson in his publication of *Rāmaśarman's Apabhraṃśa-Stabakas* in Ind. Ant. vol LI and LII 1922 and 1923 A. D. There are two noteworthy features in these *Stabakas* :—

- (1) The difference between (Mk) and (R) consists in additions to (Mk), not omissions.
- (2) While (Mk)'s *Prākṛta Sarvasva* is almost entirely in the common and simple *Anuṣṭup* metre (R)'s *Stabakas* employ various classical and elaborate metres like *Mandākrāntī*, *Upajāti*, *Aupicchandāsika*, *Vasantatilakā*, and the like. These

two features, to my mind, strongly indicate that (Mk)'s work preceded that of (R).

So we find that between 1112 A. D. when Hemacandra wrote his Grammar of the *Apabhraṃśa* language, but never uttered the names, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*, and 1450 A. D. or thereafter when (Mk) and (R) appeared in the firmament of Prākṛta grammar writing, the dialects *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* occupied a noticeable place.

Śesa Kṛṣṇa. — We have already gone into the problem of his date and on the strength of the evidence of *Kaṃśavadham* assigned him the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century. We have further evidence which I take from Belvalkar : "Śesa Kṛṣṇa was a *guru* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. Jagannātha, the court paṇḍit of the Emperor Shah Jahan, says that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śesa Kṛṣṇa. As Jagannātha was the pupil of the son of Śesa Kṛṣṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date, which must be about 1630 A. D. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in *Samvat* 1693 (= A. D. 1637). Bhaṭṭoji's date being 1630 A. D., Śesa Kṛṣṇa may safely be placed about 1600 A. D.

But there is a hitch : Śesa Viṭṭhala, son of Śesa Nṛsimha, and grandson of Śesa Rāmacandra, wrote a commentary, *Prakriyā Kaumudī Prasāda* on his grandfather's work (*Prakriyā Kaumudī*). The earliest Ms. of this *Prasāda* is dated *Samvat* 1605-6 = A. D. 1548-9. Hence, Belvalkar says, Viṭṭhala cannot be later than 1525 A. D. If so, 1600 A. D. for Śesa Kṛṣṇa presents a span of 75 years between the two brothers ! This is absurd. Belvalkar's date for Rāmacandra is 1450 A. D. Viṭṭhala, the grandson being born 1525 A. D. The grand father may possibly have lived 75 years before him. But 75 years between the two brothers are an incredible gap. Some adjustment will, therefore, be necessary in his case also. We can very well reckon that कंसवधम् was performed or written, at the instance of Giridhara during the life-time of Todar Mal, and therefore fairly well before 1586 A. D. .

Let us now apply the tests stated before :

(a)

The mention, or treatment, of Nāgara and Upanāgara

(V) Does not mention even *Apabhramśa*, much less can we expect any reference to *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. Obviously these dialects did not exist in his time.

(H) Mentions *Apabhramśa*, but nowhere does he speak of, much less treat, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. It may be that these varieties did not exist in his time, or, if they did, he left them severely alone.

(L) Holds the same position as (H) in this respect.

(Kr) In the chapter in *Saṁkṣipta-sūtra* on *Apabhramśa*, *Sūtra* 70 we find a bare incidental reference to *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. (It is noteworthy that (Kr) seems to cover *Māgadhi*, *Pāṣāci*, and *Ardhamāgadhi* under the generic name *Apabhramśa*.)

We have fixed 1300 A. D. and a little later for (Kr). H. wrote his grammar of *Apabhramśa* in 1112 A. D. Thus within a space of nearly two centuries, these minor dialects appear to have just sprouted up, and nothing more.

When we come to (M) and (R), the two dialects, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* come into prominence, comparatively speaking, by way of recognition and treatment.

(Ś) is the last in the list. He professedly disowns *Apabhramśa*, for purposes of treatment, and briefly includes *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* in his omnibus list of minor dialects, as already noted by us above. To give him the place of honour in connection with *Nāgara Apabhramśa*, as N. N. Vasu and, following him, Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar do, is out of perspective, to say the least. However, I have my doubts about the presence of the omnibus list in *Prākṛta Candrikā*, which I state fully in my *post script* to this article. If my doubts are valid, they cut the ground from under N. N. Vasu's main argument.

(b)

Recognition of certain special Apabhraṃśa Features

The neuter gender nominative and accusative singular form for words ending in अ.

Hemacandra has two alternative forms for this : 1. for words without the क suffix and 2. for words with the क suffix. For the former he has उ endings for neuter as well as masculine genders. For the latter he has उँ ending in the neuter gender : *स्यमोरस्योऽ* VIII. iv. 351. Thus, अहरु for अघरः and अंगु for अङ्गम्, कमलु for कमलम्, पणु for पर्णम्. But (कलीबे)कान्तस्यातउँस्यमोः VIII. iv. 354. Thus, भगउँ for भग्नकम्, पणउँ for पर्णकम्.

It is the treatment of this क suffix in the neuter gender that I apply as a test.

Lakṣmīdhara—recognises this उँ ending, no doubt, but attempts a needless improvement upon (H) by providing the उँ for the past participial forms additionally and specifically : कान्तस्यातउँस्वमोः (III. iv. 25 p. 222 in K. P. Trivedi) कान्तस्य तान्तस्य च अतः स्वमोः परयोः उँ भवति नपि नपुंसकलिङ्गे, and instances कुँडउँ । तान्ते भग्गउँ भग्नं । करउँ-कृतम् इत्यादि ।

(H) would cover this भग्गउँ (तान्तुँ) under कान्त by tracing it to भग्नकम्. In fact he has given भग्गउँ itself as an instance of कान्त.

Kramadīśvara -- says nothing about उँ for कान्तनपुंसक. He has a general उ for all, अतास्वमोरुद्वा *sūtra* २२ । पुंसि ओच्च *sūtra* २३.

Mārkaṇḍeya, Rāmaśarman— Both are silent on the point of the उँ for कप्रत्ययान्त neuter gender.

(Mk) XVII. 10 gives उ for all genders for all bases (उच्चस्वमोः) in nom. and acc. singular but nowhere does he speak of उँ for the कप्रत्ययान्त in अ base. Both (Mk) and (R) supplement the उ suffix by a novel suffix, दु; see Mk. XVII, 7 and (R) *Ap. Stabaka* 7. Instances : रुक्खदु, तरुणिदु, वणदु (Mk), कामिनीदु (R). (R) calls such forms अराट्क (irregular) and ग्राम्य (boorish). Rāmaśarman follows suit in verse 8 of the *Apabhraṃśa Stabaka*. I say "follows suit" because, for reasons already stated, I regard (Mk) as the model and (R) as the copyist. I differ, with due deference, from Sir George

Grierson's view that "Mārkandeya must have been acquainted with the present work, or with some of his predecessors, for he quotes almost *verbatim* the long passage, at the end of the chapter here given, which deals with the minor varieties of Apabhraṃśa" (See Ind. Ant. vol. LI, 1922 A. D. p. 14). The mere fact of identity of the particular passage can very well be proof of (R)'s being the copyist and (Mk) the original; and I have already given certain internal indications leading to my view of the question of priority between the two.

The pleonastic र

(H) in his *sūtra* VIII-iv-399 अभृतोऽपि क्वचित् notices this uninvited (प्रक्षिप्त) र. His instance is ब्राह्म for व्यासः; the य being first elided under the general rule अधोमनयाम् (III-ii-78).

(L) accepts this fully (III-iii-6) क्वचिदभृतोऽपि and instances ब्राह्म for व्यासः.

(Kr) has ब्रासादिव्यासादेः (*sūtra* 5) citing the word specimen bodily without marking the phonetic change process. But evidently, at the back of his mind, there is an intention to take र as a substitute for य, almost so, as

(Mk) and (R) regard the genesis of the letter-transformation. For (Mk) has व्यासादेरस्य रफः स्यात् (XVII--३) and gives more instances than one. ब्राह्म । ब्राक्रोह । ब्राडि । ब्रागरण् ॥

(R), verse 3, tells the same tale but slightly differently. It says व्यासव्याडिप्रभृतिषु पदेष्वत्ररः स्यादधस्तात्; i. e. in words like व्यास, व्याडि and the like a र comes as the lower member in the conjunct; which is almost the same thing as saying that य is turned to र; both these writers employ a crude empiric method, as compared with (H).

But throughout we find that the र comes in after the य is kicked out; that is to say, the प्रक्षेप of र is recognised only in cases where य is the lower member of a conjunct. This limited scope is largely widened in *post-Apabhraṃśa* period. I have given a longish list of words with a pleonastic र in my G. L. L. vol II, lecture IV, section III, *Utsarga* I, pp. 433-435—which will show this extension of the principle : पडखुं (= side) < प्रकखुं < पक्षकं; करोड < क्राड < क्रोटि; सराण < साण < शाण; and the like are instances in point.

Tessitori §31 calls this a euphonic r (it is really pleonastic) and gives instances which are not all to the point, the र, as he himself admits, being present in Sanskrit.

The ङ suffix

This suffix, profusely used in *Apabhraṃśa*, is dealt with by (H) specifically in VIII-iv-429 and 431 (ङी constructively, as really it is ङ + ई) e g. दोसङा, गोरङी.

(L) gives, word for word, the same *sūtra* (his being III-iii-29) and instances रुम्बङु.

(Kr) is silent on this ङ suffix.

(Mk)— XVII 5 and 6 note ङा and ङी (fem.);— the आ in ङा really is the nom. sing. form. (H) rightly gives ङङ=अङ; virtually ङ; the ङ being a mark-letter for ङिलोप in the base-word. (H) also gives अ, उङ्ग which (Mk) ignores.

(R), verse 6, has the same ङा and ङी; his instance, हिअङा (same as Mk) and गोलङी (गोरङी) different from Mk.

Note :— Tessitori §146 relates this, conjecturally, to the Skr. ट suffix. The conjecture is quite a happy one. We find instances like रथं वधूटीमारोप्य पापः क्वाप्येष गच्छात (*Mahāvīracarita*); गोपवधूटीदुक्कल-चौराय (*Bhāṣā-pariccheda*); where ट is a diminutive suffix showing delicacy; and, स्वर्गग्रामटिकाविलुण्ठनवृथोच्छूनैः किमेभिर्भुजैः (quoted in *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* I) where टी- टिका is used to show contempt through the diminutive idea. This ङ suffix is profusely used in Gujarati literature, ancient and modern, especially in ancient; in modern literature it is too often a case of namby-pamby effeminacy.

What does this inquiry show us now? Does it not establish the chronological sequence of the grammarians named by me? But, we must cry halt. There may be an alternative explanation. Sir George Grierson notes two schools of Prakrit grammarians: (1) Eastern and (2) Western. To the Eastern belong Vararuci, Lankeśvara, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya. Under the Western school he places Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, Simḥarāja and others who adopted the technology of

the expanded Vālmiki *Sūtras* (See Ind. Ant. vol. V, 1922 p. 13). Could it be that the recognition of Nāgara and Upanāgara depended on the school of grammarians, so also the special Apabhraṃśa features which I discussed just above? Thus (Kr), (R) and (Mk) — all Easterns recognize the Nāgara and Upanāgara dialects, either fully or incidentally, while (H) and (L) — Westerners — ignore them. This would mean that the locus of the dialects was in the East and not in the West, a theory which would not readily be accepted by the advocates of Nāgara Apabhraṃśa.

Again, out of the special Apabhraṃśa features, the most important one is the उ formations in कान्तनपुंसक of अदना bases. This principle accounts for the उ ending of neuter words in Gujarati, पर्णकं, पण्णकं, पातुं (Guj.). Marathi, also a Western vernacular, has ए to correspond to the उ in Gujarati : e. g. गेलें < गयल्यं < गतकम्. But this comes from अकं-अयं-एँ and not from अउं-उं. All the same the nasal is there. While these features are present in the Western vernaculars, they are absent in Hindi which has अ ending for neuter gender as well as in masculine. Other Eastern vernaculars will also go with Hindi — at least they do not possess the उ ending of Gujarati. Sindhi too has no distinctive neuter gender ending. The pleonastic र and ड suffix vary in their presence in East and West. In fact we have not enough data for fixing them locally.

Thus, the fact of a grammarian being Eastern or Western will not furnish a true solution ; and we must fall back on the comparatively surer basis viz. chronology, which will show how the Nāgara and the Upanāgara dialects gradually appeared in the linguistic field.

In these circumstances my view that Mārkaṇḍeya was the first grammarian who dealt with Nāgara and Upanāgara, and that Hemacandra has nowhere even so much as mentioned them, stands justified.

Post-Script

Mr. N. N. Vasu, in the article relied on by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar quotes certain *ślokas* which enumerate 27 minor dialects ; these *ślokas*, according to him, are found in Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's *Prākṛta Candrikā*. I obtained from the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute of

Poona a Ms. of *Prākṛta Candrikā* which was copied in V. S. 1776 (^६रस-^७गोत्र-^७गिरीन्दु-^१समितेब्दे) = A. D. 1720, i. e. about a century after Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's time (1600 A. D. or thereabouts). I went through the Ms. carefully more than once, asked a competent friend to do the same, and the result was that these *śloka*s are *not* there, in any part of the work. How are we to account for this? The absence of the *śloka*s does not leave a gap in the B.O.R. Institute's Ms.. A solution, possibly the only solution, lies in the possibility of the *śloka*s being an interpolation in Mr. N. N. Vasu's Ms.. This theory gains colour from a very significant fact: Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Introductory portion of his *Prākṛta Sarvasva* raises in the commentary a possible objection to his statement in the 4th stanza that the Prakrit languages are sixteen in all; viz, how sixteen in all, when some people have said that there are Mahārāṣṭrī, Āvanti, Śaurasenī and others eight in number, Śākārī etc., and 27 varieties of Apabhramśa, and 11 Piśāca dialects. In enumerating the 27 Apabhramśas the list given by (Mk) is the original which must have supplied matter for interpolation to Mr. N. N. Vasu's Ms.. In fact the list is the same as given by Mārkaṇḍeya. Sir George Grierson regards this list as taken by Mārkaṇḍeya from an unnamed author (See his *Apabhramśa Stobakas* of Rāmaśarmaṇ, Ind. Ant. vol. LII, A. D. 1923, p. 5).

In my foregoing article all observations regarding Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and his 27 varieties of Apabhramśa are to be taken as subject to this interpolation theory.

MISCELLANEA
NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY
P. K. GODE, M. A.

XV

HEMĀDRI'S COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA
(CALLED DARPAṆA) AND ITS PROBABLE DATE —
FIRST HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY

Hemādri, the author of the commentary called Darpaṇa on the Raghuvamśa was a very learned commentator. This is evidenced by the list of "authors, works and portions of works quoted by Hemādri in his Darpaṇa" published by Mr. S. P. Pandit as an Appendix to his edition of the Raghuvamśa.¹

According to Mr. Nandargikar, Hemādri stands second to Vallabha, another commentator on the Raghuvamśa, chronologically.² He also observes in the same place that this commentary "excels by far all the others both in point of scholarship and judgment." Hemādri mentions other earlier commentators such as Daksināvarta, Kṛṣṇa and Vallabha but it is "curious to note that Cāritravardhana and Mallinātha although they literally imitate him nowhere give his name or at least indicate that these expressions are not their own."³ Cāritravardhana flourished after Vallabha for he quotes him in his commentary. Cāritravardhana imitates Hemādri while Dinakara's commentary which gives its date viz. A. D. 1385 is simply the epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary. It is clear, therefore, that Vallabha lived long before 1385 A. D. and between him and Dinakara flourished Hemādri and Cāritravardhana.⁴ Hemādri's

1. *Raghuvamśa*, part II, Bombay, 1872, Appendix I, pp. 12-18.

2. *Raghuvamśa*, Poona, 1897 —Critical Notice, p. 13.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

commentary mentions Caturvargacintāmani of the celebrated Hemādri, the writer on Dharmaśāstra.¹ This work is assigned to a period (1260–1270 A. D.).² It would thus be seen that Hemādri's commentary must be assigned to a period between 1260 to 1385 A. D., if Mr. Nandargikar's hypothesis of putting him before Dinakara is accepted.

We have, however, to record the following evidence which to a certain extent upsets Mr. Nandargikar's hypothesis :-

- (1) Hemādri in commenting on verse 20 of Canto XII refers to प्रक्रियाकौमुदी as follows :-

“प्रक्रियाकौमुद्यां च भजनादेर्दाढ्यमात्रं विवक्षितं न स्त्रीत्वमिति”

- (2) We have been able to identify the above quotation in the recent edition³ of the work by Mr. K. P. Trivedi, where the quotation reads as under :-

“दृढभक्तिरित्यादौ भजनादेर्दाढ्यमात्रं विवक्षितं न तु स्त्रीत्वम् ॥”

- (3) It is, therefore, perfectly clear that Hemādri knew the Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmacandra and possibly in his time it was gaining in status as one of the authorities on grammar because he refers to it in the same breath with *Kāśikā* in the same place.⁴

- (4) Now as regards the date of Prakriyākaumudī, the following views are available :-

(i) According to Keith⁵ the work was written c. 1400.

(ii) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thinks that Rāmacandra lived about 1450 A. D.⁶

1. See Comm. on Canto XIII, 52, and Canto VII, 37, 51.

2. *History of Dharmaśāstra* (1930) by P. V. Kane, Vol. I, p. 357.

3. B. S. S. LXXVIII, Part I, 1925, p. 584.

4. Ms. No. 47 of 1873-74, folio 106, a, line 5 —

“तथा काशिकायां च । दृढभक्तिरित्यादिषु स्त्रीपूर्व-
पदस्याविवक्षितत्वात्सिद्धमिति समाधेयमिति ॥”

5. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 430.

6. *Report on the Search for Mss. for 1883-84*, p. 60.

(iii) Mr. K. P. Trivedi,¹ however, concludes that Rāmacandra flourished in the latter half of the 14th century (i.e. between 1350 to 1400 A. D.).

We are inclined to adopt Mr. Trivedi's conclusion because he notes a Ms.² of the *Prakriyākaumudī* which is dated Samvat 1493 (= A. D. 1437). If a copy of the work is dated A. D. 1437 the work may be presumed to have been written during the *2nd half of the 14th century* i.e. between 1350 to 1400 A. D.

(5) If the above view is accepted, Hemādri, who refers to the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra, must be assigned to a period which is removed at least by 50 years or so. We may be, therefore, not much wrong if we state that Hemādri's commentary was written during the *first half of the 15th century* i.e. between A.D. 1400 to 1450. This conclusion vitiates Mr. Nandargikar's inference that Hemādri lived before A.D. 1385. We may state here that this view is based on the philological argument that Cāritravardhana imitates Hemādri and that Dinakara's commentary is practically an epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary.

(6) Other evidence in support of our conclusion is the fact that Hemādri refers to *Rūpamālā* a work on grammar in commenting verse 70 of Canto XIII. Presumably the reference is to the work of this name by Vimalasarasvatī³ who is placed not later than A. D. 1350. This work is put prior in chronological order to the *Prakriyākaumudī*. As this work is referred to as an authority on grammar by Hemādri, he must have lived at least 50 years after A. D. 1350 i.e. after A. D. 1400. Our conclusion, therefore, that Hemādri belongs to the *first half of the 15th century* appears to be approximately correct.

1. B. S. S. LXXVIII, Part I, Introduction, p. XLV.

2. MS. No. 20 of 1904 (Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta).

3. Belvalkar. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 44.

XVI

SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKANṬHA,
THE AUTHOR OF RASAKAUMUDĪ

In my note in the *Annals*, Vol. XII, pp. 202-4 I have shown that Śatruśālya was the patron of Śrīkanṭha (author of *Rasakaumudī*) and that he was identical with Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar (1569 to 1608 A. D.). I also inferred that the B.O.R.I. Ms. of the *Rasakaumudī* was a contemporary copy from the original of the court poet Śrīkanṭha, who must have been living in Jam Sattarsal's reign, and that he composed his *Rasakaumudī* about A. D. 1575 i.e. 5 or 6 years after Jam Sattarsal's accession to the gādi.

In the present note I have to record the corroboration of my inferences. There is a poem on the history of the Jam dynasty of Kaccha and Navanagar, especially of Śatruśālya Nrpa claiming descent from Yadu and Kṛṣṇa, in seven cantos. It is called *Jāmavijaya-Kāvya* by one Vāṇinātha. Aufrecht¹ records two Mss. of this historical poem, at the end of which the following verse occurs with reference to Śrīkanṭha :—

“ आस्ते यस्य समीप एव नगरी द्वारावती श्रीपते-
 र्देवो नागविभूषणोऽस्य नगरोपांतिरिति नागेश्वरः ।
 नानाशास्त्रविचारचारुचतुरः श्रीकण्ठनामा द्विजो
 यस्यास्ते स चिरायुरस्तु जगति श्रीशत्रुशत्र्यो वृषः ॥ १०७ ॥ ”

The above verse makes it clear beyond the possibility of a doubt that Śrīkanṭha, who is none other than the author of *Rasakaumudī* described by me in my previous note, was a court-poet of Jam Sattarsal, being extremely clever on account of his study of various Śāstras as mentioned in the verse.

The India Office Ms. of the *Jāmavijaya Kāvya* is dated Samvat 1866 (= A. D. 1810) while the B.O.R.I. Ms. is dated Samvat 1805 (= A. D. 1749) and hence older.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, p. 206—“P. 9” which is the same as B. O. R. I. No. 183 of 1879—80 and iii, 44—“IO-2351” described by Eggeling on p. 1511 of Part VII of *India Office Mss. Catalogue*, 1904.

XVII

A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF A COMMENTARY ON THE
MEGHADŪTA CALLED *SĀRODDHĀRINĪ*
AND ITS PROBABLE DATE (*between* A. D. 1173 AND 1561)

Mr. Nandargikar in his edition of the Meghadūta¹ describes a Ms. of a commentary on the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa called *Sāroddhārīnī*. This Ms is No. 157 of 1882-83 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. It is dated Samvat 1617 (=A.D. 1561). According to Mr. Nandargikar it is a "very learned commentary." "It abounds in quotations from numerous authors and in grammatical, philological, rhetorical, and critical disquisitions. It refers in several places to older commentators but does not name any of them."

Dr. K. B. Pathak² who has also made use of this Ms., records this commentary as "next only to Mallinātha's work in point of merit."

As Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* does not record this Ms. or any other Mss of this important commentary, the only available B.O.R.I. Ms., though in a damaged condition, must be regarded as very rare and important.

As regards the date of this commentary Dr. Pathak³ thinks it is composed after Mallinātha's commentary "as we find in it a reference to his explanation of माल as मालाख्यं क्षेत्रं in verse 16." I have examined this reference in the Ms. of *Sāroddhārīnī* referred to above. It appears as under on folio 8 :—

“अत्र कोचिन्मालं मालाभिधानं क्षेत्रं⁴ इति ब्रुवते तन्न युक्तं”

Dr. Pathak identifies this reference with the following line⁵ in Mallinātha's commentary :—

-
1. *Meghadūta* with Mallinātha's commentary, Bombay, 1894, Critical Notice, p. 7.
 2. *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, (Second Edition), Poona, 1916. Introduction, p. xxi.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
 4. In a commentary on the Meghadūta (Ms. No. 158 of 1882-83 dated Samvat 1626, i.e. A.D. 1570 — fol. 19) the expression “मालं मालाभिधानं क्षेत्रं” is found.
 5. Pathak's Edition of the Meghadūta, Poona, 1916., p. 11.

“मालं मालाख्यं क्षेत्रं”

It will be seen from the above quotations that the *Sāroddhārini* does not mention Mallinātha by name. We are, therefore, not positively sure from this vague reference whether it pertains to Mallinātha or any other commentator who preceded the *Sāroddhārini*. Even though quotations are given in the commentary the names of the sources drawn upon are not mentioned and consequently it has become difficult to fix the date of composition of this commentary. On a cursory perusal of this decaying Ms I have been able to get the following references :—

यदुक्त अनेकार्थे (fol. 2) ; यदुक्त (fol. 16) ;
तथा च उक्त (fols. 4, 9, 21, 22, 26, 33, 46 etc.) ;
रामायण (fol. 6) ; दंडो (fol. 33).

In these few references the only reference which could be of use for chronological purposes is the following :—

On folio 2 — “छायाशब्दः पंक्तिवाचकोऽप्यस्ति यदुक्तं अनेकार्थे ॥
छायापंक्तौ प्रतिमायामर्कयोषित्यनातये ।
उक्तो च पालने कान्ता शोभायां च तमस्यपि ॥”

I have succeeded in indentifying this quotation in the अनेकार्थसंग्रह¹ of हेमचन्द्र where it is found as under :—

“छायापंक्तौ प्रतिमायामर्कयोषित्यनातये ।
उक्तोचे पालने कान्ता शोभायां च तमस्यपि ॥ ३५१ ॥”

(the reading “उक्तो च” for उक्तोचे is evidently a scribal error).

The above identification enables us to put the date of the *Sāroddhārini* between Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṃgraha* and A. D. 1561, the date of the present Ms. As Hemacandra died in A. D. 1173² we may for the present fix the date of the *Sāroddhārini* between A. D. 1173 and 1561. If Dr. Pathak's identification of reference to Mallinātha is corroborated by any other evidence internal or external we may put the date of the *Sāroddhārini* between A. D. 1420³ and 1561.

1. *Anekārtha-saṃgraha*, ed. by Zacharie, Vienna, 1893, p. 27.

2. Duff: *Chronology of India*, p. 152.

3. Keith: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 87, foot-note 2.

XVIII

A QUOTATION FROM THE *HANŪMANNĀTAKA*
IN THE COMMENTARY ON MEGHADŪTA BY
MAHIMAHANŚAGANI, COMPOSED IN
SAMVAT 1693 (= A. D. 1637)

Dr. S. K. De in his elaborate study of the " Problem of the Mahānāṭaka " ¹ states that Ānandavardhana (middle of the 9th century) and Dhanika (end of 10th century) quote verses which occur in the Mahānāṭaka or Hanūmannāṭaka, but these quotations being anonymous cannot establish the antiquity of the Mahānāṭaka. Dr. De further adds that a large number of quotations mostly anonymous, from the Mahānāṭaka is also found in Sanskrit Anthologies. Out of *ten* quotations given as *hanūmatah* in the Śāringadharapaddhati (about A. D. 1363) only *two* can be traced, one in the recension of Madhusūdana and the other in that of Dāmodara. ²

I find from the above useful data gathered by Dr. De that the quotations ascribed to Hanūmat and identified in the two recensions of the Mahānāṭaka are two only. It may, therefore, be useful to record and identify any further quotations from the Mahānāṭaka.

While examining the Mss of the commentary on the Meghadūta by Mahimahanśagani in Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute I came across the following quotation :--

Ms No. 389 of 1884-87, folio 36 —

“अत एवोक्तं हनुमन्नाटके

कुत्रायोध्या क रामो दशरथवचनाद्दंडकारण्यमागात्

कासौ मारीचि मा कनकमयसृगः कुत्र सीतापहारः

सुग्रीवो राममैत्री क जनकतनया चेक्षणे प्रेक्षितोहं

योध्यो संभावमानस्तमपि घटयति क्रूरकर्मा विघाता ”

1. Ind. Histo. Quarterly, Vol. VII. pp. 537-627,

2. Ibid., p. 542.

The above verse appears as under on p. 70 (Act V) of the edition of the *Mahānāṭaka* (Madhusūdana's recension) by Rāmatārana Śiromaṇi, 1870 -

“कुत्रायोध्या क रामो दशरथवचनाद्वंदकारण्यमागात्
 कासौ मारीचनामा कनकमयसृगः कुत्र सीतापहारः
 सुग्रीवो राममित्र क जनकतनयान्वेक्षणे प्रेषितोऽहं
 योऽर्थो सम्भावनीयस्तमपि घटयति क्रूरकर्मा विधाता ॥ २६ ॥

As the above verse cannot be traced in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, the possibility of its being a second-hand quotation from this anthology is negatived and the statement of Mahimahamsaṅgani that it is taken from the Hanūmannāṭaka appears to be correct.

BĪṆKA PLATES OF RAṆABHANJADEVA OF THE
REGNAL YEAR 16

BY

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI, M. A.

This grant was edited for the first time by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar nearly fifteen years ago. But as his transcription is far from correct it is being re-edited. I have prepared my reading from the excellent facsimiles reproduced with Mr. Mazumdar's article.¹ As it is the custom to name the copper plate grants according to the find-spot, I have changed the title of the plates.

This grant is reported to have been found at Bīṅka, a sub-divisional town in Sonepur feudatory State, in Orissa. It had also a seal partly broken (not reproduced by Mr. Mazumdar) on which the the body of a Bull is represented, the head seems to have disappeared with the broken part of the seal. Above the animal is engraved the legend : *Rāṇaka Śrī Raṇabhañjadevasya*.

"The charter consists of three copper plates of which the first plate alone bears an inscription on the inner side only. The plates are rather irregular in shape their average height (length?) and breadth may be put down as 5" and 7" respectively. The ring which is half inch in thickness and three inches in diameter passes through the hole cut at the left margin of the plates, contains the oval seal of the grantor (donor) at the top.²

The inscription is very badly inscribed and contains many mistakes. The language is no doubt Sanskrit but it is wretched, even the quotations are not properly done. The grant was inscribed by Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi, who is called a '*vaṇika*' and '*suvarṇakāra*'.

The record belongs to the reign of *Rāṇaka Raṇabhañjadeva*, of the spotless Bhāñja family who was the 'lord of both the

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. II, pp. 167-77.

2. *Ibid.* p. 167.

hiñjalis'. Raibahadur Hirālāl tried to identify this Ranabhañja with the king of the same name ruling over a place called hijinga Kotta in Orissa. But the absurdity of such a hypothesis was first demonstrated by late Mr. R. D. Banerji and conclusively proved by my friend Mr. C. C. Dasgupta.¹ Following grants of this king are also known :—

- (1) Singhara plates of the year 9.²
- (2) Daśapalla grant of the year 24.³
- (3) Baudh grants of the years 24 and 54.⁴
- (4) Unpublished Baudh grants of the year 58 and another.

Before we begin consideration of the text it would be well to point out some peculiar points about these plates. The first point is that no mention is made of any ancestor of the donor excepting his father. The second point is that though the grant mentions the myth about the progenitor of the family being born out of an egg, it does not mention Gandhāta who is described as an ancestor of the king in some of his grants. This Gandhāta seems to be the same man as King Gandhamārdana of local tradition at Baudh, in whose honour a village called Gandhātapati was established (represented by modern Gandharāḍi in Baudh state).⁵

Ranabhañja seems to have begun his life as a feudatory of some powerful king. In all his earlier grants he is invariably described as a Rānaka together with the adjectives *Samādhigata* and *maḥa-mahā śabda*. Later in life he seems to have become an independent sovereign, because in his land grants of the years 54 and 58 he is called a *Mahārāja*.

The king is described in this as well as in other grants as *abhyaya Khiñjaly = ādhipati*. Now the question that requires to be settled is where was this Khiñjali mandala situated? Raibahadur Hirālāl is of opinion that ancient Khiñjali is modern Keonjhar.⁶

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1. Banerji-*History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 166 fn. 1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XII. pp. 231-2.
 2. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. VI. p. 175.
 3. *Ibid.* p. 165ff.
 4. *E. I.* p. 321, ff.
 5. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1929. pp. 72-74.
 6. *E. I.*, XVIII. p. 292.

On the other hand late Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the ancient Khiñjālī maṇḍala was the name of the country on both banks of the Mahānadī, near and about the modern states of Sonapur, and Baudh.¹

The grant which is issued from Dhrtipura, the capital of the Bhañjas is dated in the 6th day of a month not specified, in the 16th regnal year of the king. It records the grant of the village of Tasapaikera on the river Mahānadī in the Uttarapalli division of the Khiñjālī maṇḍala. The donee was Śrīdhara, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, son of Balabhadra, and grandson of Vāpula, a student of the Madhyāmdina branch of the Yajurveda. He was an immigrant from the village of Bhata Nirola then residing at Kāmāri.

Text

Line

1. Om* svasti | Sa[m]hāra-kāla-huta-bhug—vikarāla ghoras[m]bhrānta-kimka²
2. ra krtānta bhinnam [i *] bhinnāndhak—āsura—mahagahana — ātyatra³ | tad = bhairava[m] Hara-
3. vapur = bhavataḥ papātuḥ⁴, || Durvvāra vāraṇam-ṛaṇam-pratipaksa-Laksmī ha-
4. tha-grahanam suprasṇa⁵ pa[pra]tāpā [i *] Bhañjā-narādhipatayo vahava vabhuvu-
5. r = udbhutayo⁶ = tra bhuva⁷ bhuri-sahasra samkhyāḥ || Tesā [m] kule sakala-bhutala-
6. pāla-mauli-māl-ārcit=āṅghri-ju(yu)galo valavām⁸ nrpo=

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1929. pp. 83-84.

* Expressed in symbol as well as in words.

2. Read *kimkara*.

3. Read *ātapattraṇ*.

4. Read *prapātu*.

5. Read *suprasṇta*.

6. Read *udbhutayetta*.

7. Read *bhuvi*.

8. Read *valavān*.

7. huta ॥ [ɪ*] Śrī-Śatrubhañja ity = atula-dhīh [॥] Tasy = ātmaja [h] svayambhu-vat ॥ Anyo-
8. nya mada¹-māna milita- samuddhata- nṛpa-cakra-ca-
tunga² va [ba] la kso-
9. bha calita -dharā -mandala [lo] gaja- turaga- ksura- nird-
-dhārana pasarad³-ātula
10. dhuli- vitāna- sañcchanna jany-āṅgana[no] -ga[ja]
-skandha ॥ vedikā-svayamvar-āyata ॥ [ɪ*]
11. parinita-bh[ja]aya-lakṣmī-samānandita-paurajana-mana-
sāh⁴ Śrīmad — Bhañja-
12. bhupatiḥ purād = Dhrtipura-namnā[h] ॥ Sa[Śa]rad-
amala dhavala-kara-yaśah pata-
- 13, la dhavalita-dig = vadano ॥ Anavarata-pravṛta⁵-san-
māna dān = āna-

Second Plate: First side

14. [ɪndi] ta sakala-jano aṇḍaja-va[m]śa⁶ prabhavaḥ parama-
vaiṣṇava mātāpitṛ pā-
15. dānudyāta[to] Bhañj--āmala-kula-tilaka Ubhaya-khiñ-
jaly - ādhipati [h] sama [ā]
16. dhigata-pañca-mahāśabda⁶ mahāsāmanta-vandita Stambhe
śvari laydha-vara-
17. prasāda ॥ Rāṇaka [h] Śrī Rāṇabhañjadeva [h] kuśali ih =
aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍa-
18. le bhaviṣād⁷-rāja- rājanak = antarāṅga-kumārāmānya⁸-
mahāsāmanta-vrā [brā] hma-

1. Read marda.

2. Read caturaṅga.

3. Read prasarada.

4. Read mānasaḥ.

5. Read pravṛtta.

6. Read śabda.

7. Read bhaviṣyad.

8. Read kumārāmātya.

19. na pradhānā any = añca¹ dandapāsika- cāṭa- bhata-
vallabha jātiyā-
20. n ॥ Yathārhi² mānayatī³ vodhayati samādiśayati c =
ānyat ॥ Sa-
21. rvvataḥ s[ś]livam — asmākam ॥ viditam = astu bha-
vataḥ⁴ utrapali⁵ pravati-
22. vaddhaḥ⁶ Mahānadi vimala-jala-viji⁷ prakṣālita
Tasapaikarā gāma⁸
23. catuh-sīma-paryanta nidhā⁹ upanidhi-sahita mātā-pitr =
ātmajaśva¹⁰ puṇyā-
24. bhi vrdhhye salila-dhārāḥ-puraḥsarena vidhinā । Bhārad-
vāja-gotra Ā-
25. ngirasa vārisyatya¹¹ pravarāya Yajurveda madhyānna-
śākhāḥ¹²-dhyāi । bhata
26. Nirola vinirgata Kāmāri-vāstavya bhata-putra Śrī-Śrī-
dhara Śrī-Vā

Second Plate : Second side

27. pula-sutah Śrī-Va[Ba]labhadra-naptre vidhi-vidhānena
savisaya tāmraśā-
28. sana pratipādito¹³ pāra [m] parya-kul-āvatāreṇa yavad¹⁴
ved [ā] । nu vacaṁne-

-
1. Read *anyaśca*.
 2. Read *yathārham*.
 3. Read *mānayatī*.
 4. Read *bhavatām*.
 5. Read *uttarapallī*.
 6. Read *prativaddha*.
 7. Read *vici*.
 8. Read *grāma*.
 9. Read *nidhye*.
 10. Read *ātmajaśca*.
 11. Read *bārhaspatya*.
 12. Read *madhyāndina*.
 13. Read *pratipādito*.
 14. Read *yavad*.

29. na yatha [ā] ı Kāṇḍā [t] Kāṇḍā [t] prarohanti ı śāsanena
pratīnāsī sahasreṇa viro-
30. hasi¹ evaṁ buddh[v]ā parārdh=ma² parato vaśś-
āvatārena — āpi asmad-anurodhā [t] dharmma-gau-
31. ravā = ca na kenāci[t] smalp = āpi³ vādhā karaṇiṃ
[m] ı tathā c=okta dharmma-śāstreṣu [u*] Pha-
32. la [m] krstā mahi [m] -dadyā [t] sa-vija-śasya-medini
yāva [t] sūrya kṛta [m] lo-
33. ke tāvat svarge mahiyate ı Veda-vākyas-mayo⁴ jihva
vadanti rsi-
34. devatā[h] bhumi harttā tath — ānyacca aho mā [m]
haro mā hara ı [u*] Yath = āpsu
35. patitaṁ śakra tailavindu visarpati ı Evaṁ bhūmi-kṛtaṁ
dānam sasye sasye⁵ pra-
36. rohati ı Ādityo Varuna Viṣṇu [m] V[B]rahmā Soma
[o] Hutāśana [h] ı Śūlapāṇis = tu bha-
37. gavāṁ⁶ ābhinandati bhūmida[m] ı [u*] Asphoṭayanti
pitarah pa [pra] valghayanti pi-
38. tāmaḥ[h] bhumi-dātā ka[ku] le jātā [āh] sa me tā
[trā] tā bhaviṣyati ı Rvvhubhir = vvasu-
39. dhā dattā rājānah⁷ sagara-ādbhi ı Mārud-aphala saṁkā-
ya paradatte-

Third Plate : First side

40. su pālita⁸ ı Yasya Yasya yadā bhumi tasya tasya tadā
phalaṁ ı [u*] Svadattāṁ

-
1. Read *virodhasi*.
 2. Read *parārdhamca*.
 3. Read *svalp—āpi*.
 4. Read *veda—vāk-smṛtayo—jihva*.
 5. Read *śasye—śasye*.
 6. Read *bhagavān*.
 7. Read *rājābhiḥ*.
 8. Read *bhud = aphala-saṁkā vah paradatt—eti pārthivaḥ*.

41. paradattām=vā yo hareta[m] vasumdhara[m] ॥ Sa
visthāyā kṛmīr bhūtvā pitrbhi [h]
42. saha pacyate ॥ Hiranyam=ekam gāmekām apy=
ārdham aṅgula[m] 1 haram nara-
43. kam āyāti yāvad-ābhūti-samplavaḥ ॥ Bhumiṁ yaḥ pratiga
[gr] nhāti yac = ca bhu-
44. mi prayacchati 1 ubhau tāu puṇyā-karmmanau niyatau¹
svargga-gaminau 1 [u*] Ha-
45. rate hārayate bhumi[m] manda-vu[bu]ddhis stamava
[v]ṛ[ta] 1 savvaddho² varunaiḥ
46. pāśai[s] tiryā[g]-yonisu ja[jā]yate ॥ Mā pārthivaḥ
kadāci[t] v[b] rahma-
47. sva[m] manams = ādi³ ānausa⁴ dha[r]ma[m] bhaiṣajya
[m] etata[m] halā-halam viṣam ॥ Avisa [m]
48. viṣam ity = āhu[r] v[b]rahmasva[m] viṣa[m] ucyate 1
visa[m] ekākino hanti vra[br]hmasva[m] pu-
49. tra pautrikam 1 loha-curṇṇ = āśva curṇṇāṁ = ca jaraye
naraḥ vrahmasva [m] tṛṣu lokesu
50. kaḥ pumā[n] jaramisyati⁵ ॥ Vājapeya sahasrāṇi
Āśvamedha⁶ śatāni ca ga-
51. vā [m] ko [ti] pradattena bhumi-hartā na śyudhyanti⁷
Iti kamala-d[al] = āmbu-vindu-lolā-

-
1. Read *niyataṁ*.
 2. Read *baddho*.
 3. Read *manasād—api*.
 4. Read *āneṣa*.
 5. Read *jarayisyati*.
 6. Read *āśvamedha*.
 7. Read *śuddhati*.

Third Plate : Second side

52. Śrī¹ anucintya-manuṣya-jivitañ--ca sakalam --idam udā-
hṛtañ--ca vu
53. dhair² na hi puraṣaiḥ parakirttayo vilopyā || Vijaya-
rājya samva [t] sa-
54. re so[so]das=ābdi ṣan³=divase utkina⁴--ñca vanika-
suvanākāra⁵ Sivaṇāga
55. Pāṇḍi suta mahārājakiya- mudre = natih ||

1. Read śrīyam

2. Read buddhvā.

3. Read ṣaṭ.

4. Read utkīṛṇa=ñca.

5. Read suvarṇakārā.

REFERENCES TO THE BAUDDHAS AND THEIR PHILOSOPHY IN UMĀSVĀTI'S TATTVĀRTHABHĀṢYA AND SIDDHAṢENA GAṆĪ'S COMMENTARY TO IT

BY

PROF. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

I have come across some references pertaining to the *Bauddhas* and their tenets in *Vācaka Umāsvāti's bhāṣya* to his splendid work *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* and its commentary composed by *Siddhaṣena Gaṇī*. So far as I know, no scholar has seriously devoted himself to the study of this commentary, which is, in my opinion, a precious mine of information pertaining to various topics.

First of all we shall examine in this connection, the *bhāṣya* and then turn our eyes to the commentary.

We come across the word *Tantrāntariyāh*, in three places in the *bhāṣya*, firstly when *Umāsvāti* discusses the *nayas* or stand-points (I. 35 ; p. 121¹), secondly when he deals with the nether regions (III. 1 ; p. 232), and thirdly when he is interpreting the meaning of *pudgala* (V. 22 ; p. 354).

If we refer to the commentary (p. 121) we see that the *bhāṣya-kāra* uses this word in the first place to signify a non-Jaina, a *Jaina* being designated as *svatantra* or having the same scriptures as his own. In the remaining two places he distinctly alludes to the *Bauddhas* or *Māyāsūnaviyas* as the learned commentator has pointed out on p. 232 and p. 354 respectively.

The commentator refers to the *Bauddhas* under several names: (i) मायासूनावीय on pp. 70, 232 and 354 (part I) and p. 67 (pt. II); (ii) बौद्ध on p. 85, (iii) शाकलिकजीवरक on p. 30, and (iv) दुग्गतशिष्य on p. 123 (part II).²

1. The number of the page refers to my edition, published in the D. L. P. Jain P. F. Series.

2. These and other references given in this article are by no means exhaustive.

Out of these *Māyāsūnavā* means son of *Māyā*. This may imply that the tradition of Lord *Buddha* being the son of *Māyā-devī* was current in the time of the commentator.

By *Śālikakācīvaraka* the commentator seems to allude to the fact that a Buddhist monk has to wear a garment consisting of several pieces and patches.

At least in two places, pt. I, p. 32 and pt. II, p. 67 he has even mentioned the name *Buddha*.¹ He has also referred to his staunch followers and famous philosophers, *Vasubandhu* and *Dharmakīrti*, the former with as well as without his nickname *Amiṣagṛdha* on p. 68, lines 1 and 29 (pt. II) and the latter with his magnificent work *Pramāṇavinīśaya* on p. 397 (pt. I).

The *bhūmikā* (pp. 4-5) to *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa* written by Tripitakācārya Rāhula Samkṛtyayana deals with 18 Buddhist *nīkāyas* mentioned by *Siddhasena* on p. 123 (pt. I). As these appear to refer to the 18 schools or sects of the *Hīnayāna* Buddhists, it will not be fruitless to consult *Dīpavaṃsa* (Ch. V, 39-48) *Mahāvāṃsa* (Ch. V.), *Mahābodhivaṃsa* and the commentary on *Kathāvatthu*. Even the article "The sects of Buddhists" by J. W. Rhys Davids published in J. R. A. S., July 1891 (pp. 409-422) may be studied in this connection, as it throws light even on the relationships etc., of these sects.

The well-known doctrine² of five *ānantarya pāpas* mentioned in *Nāgārjuna's Dharmasaṃgraha* (p. 13) is discussed by *Siddhasena* on p. 67 (pt. II).

Now we shall refer to the passages quoted by him from the Buddhist works. For instance, on p. 232, he observes:—

“यथा हि वर्षति देवे प्रततधारं नास्ति वीचिका वा अन्तरिका वा एवमेव पूर्वार्थादिशि लोकधातवो नैरन्तर्येण व्यवस्थितारतथाऽन्यास्वपि दिक्ष्वति”³

1. The name *Sugata* occurs in pt. II. on pp. 66 and 123.
2. This is treated by *Śīlāṅka Sūri* in his commentary to *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.
3. Up-till-now I have not succeeded in tracing the original sources of this and the following quotations. So will any veteran scholar of Buddhism kindly point them out to me and oblige?

On page 354 he has remarked as under:—

“अस्त्यार्यसम्मितीयानामात्मा सौत्रान्तिकानां तु चित्ततद्युक्तसन्ततौ तद्वल-
प्रज्ञातिः, चित्तसन्ततौ वेदनासज्ज्ञा चेतनादिधर्मयुक्तायां चक्षुरादिसहितायां च चित्ते-
नान्योन्यानुविधानात्, इत्येषा चित्ततद्युक्तानां धर्माणां सन्ततिरहङ्कारवस्तुत्वादात्मेत्युपच-
र्यते, तथा पुनः पुनर्गत्यदानात् ‘उद्वल’ इत्युपचर्यते, योगाचाराणां तु विज्ञानपरिणामः
उद्वलः ॥ यथाऽऽह—

‘आत्मधर्मोपचारो हि, विविधो यः प्रदेतते

विज्ञानपरिणामोऽसौ, परिणामः स त्रिधा’ ॥”

In the end, I may enumerate the topics dealt with by me in this article: (1) designation of the *Bauddhas*, (2) their various schools, (3) names of their prominent philosophers and their standard works, and (4) some of the main features of Buddhism accompanied by quotations at times.

1. For an incidental reference to these systems see “The place of the Āryasatyas and Pratītyasamutpāda in Hinayāna and Mahāyāna”, an article published in the *Annals of B. O. R. I.* (vol. XI, pp. 101-127).

RAJAPRAŚNĪYASŪTRA, ITS CLAIM AS UPĀṄGA, ITS TITLE, ETC.

BY

PROF. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

As is well-known to a student of *Jaina* literature *Śruta*¹-*jñāna*² or the *Jaina āgama*³ is divided for facilitating⁴ its study into two groups (i) the *āṅgapraviṣṭa* and (ii) *āṅgabāhya*⁵ (also known as *anaṅgapraviṣṭa*⁶). The first group includes the 12 *āṅgas*, composed by the *Gaṇadhāras*, whereas the latter comprises the remaining canonical works composed by saints immediately next to the *Gaṇadhāras*.⁷

The *āṅgabāhya Śruta-jñāna* is further classified as (i) *āvaśyaka* and (ii) *āvaśyakanyatirikta*,⁸ the former having six sub-divisions, such as *sāmāyika*⁹ etc., and the latter having only two namely (i) *kālīka*¹⁰ and (ii) *utkālīka*,¹¹ both of which include a number

1. Reserving the question of its origin for some other occasion, I may state that this word reminds me of two things: (1) the word "suyam" occurring in सुयं मे आउत्स etc. in several *Jaina āgamas* e.g., *Ācārāṅga*, *Sthānāṅga*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, etc., and (ii) *Śruti*, the designation for the *Vedas*.
2. For the various synonyms of this *Śrutajñāna* such as *āgama* etc. see *Vācaka Umāsvāti's bhāṣya* of *Tattvārthadhigamasūtra* (I, 20, p. 88.)
3. This is not to be confounded with the *āgama* meaning the oldest *Śaiva* canon confirming to the *Vedas* and not entirely separated from the Vedic religion like that of later *Śaiva* sects.
4. Vide *Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20) and its commentary (p. 94).
5. See *Haribhadra Sūri's* commentary to *Āvaśyakasūtra* and its *niryukti* (p. 25, edn. *Āgamodaya Samiti*).
6. Vide *Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20, p. 9).
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
8. See *Nandīsūtra* (sūtra 44, p. 202, edn. *A. Samiti*).
9. The remaining five are (a) *caturvīṃśatistava*, (b) *vandanaka*, (c) *pratīkramaṇa*, (d) *kāyotsarga* and (e) *pratīkhyāna*.
- 10-11. The sacred works which are allowed to be read during the first and the last *pauruṣis* of the day and of the night as well go by the name of *kālīka śruta*, the rest can be read at any time except *kāla-velā* and are known as *utkālīka śruta*. See *Nandīsūtracūṛpi*.

of sacred works. *Rājaprasānīyasūtra*¹ belongs to the latter class, and it is considered as the *upāṅga* of *Sūtrakṛta*, the 2nd *aṅga*.²

I, for one, fail to realize how these two are related to each other as *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, when there is practically no connection between the contents of these two works, except that both refer to *akriyāvāda* — a subject, by no means uncommon to other *āgamas*, etc.

Upāṅga — Now, a few words about the *upāṅgas* before I proceed further. According to the *Jaina* tradition at least 300 years old, the number of the *upāṅgas* is 12, there being one *upāṅga* corresponding to one *aṅga*. In this connection it will be worth-while to reproduce here the following passage from *Prameyaratnamanījūṣā*, *Śāntīcandra Gaṇi*'s commentary (pp. 1-2) to *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* :—

“तत्र अङ्गानि आचाराङ्गदीनि प्रतीतानि, तेषामुपाङ्गानि क्रमेण अस्मिन्—
१ आचाराङ्गस्य औपपातिकम्, २ सूत्रकदङ्गस्य राजप्रदनीयम्, ३ स्थानाङ्गस्य जीवा(जीवा)भिगमः, ४ समवायाङ्गस्य प्रज्ञापना, ५ ; भगवत्याः सूर्यप्रज्ञप्तिः, ६ ज्ञाताधर्मकथाङ्गस्य जम्बूद्वीपप्रज्ञप्तिः, ७ उपासकदशाङ्गस्य चन्द्रप्रज्ञप्तिः..., ८ अन्तर्क-
दशाङ्गस्य कल्पिका, ९ अनुत्तरोपपातिकदशाङ्गस्य कल्पावतंसिका, १० प्रदन्व्याकरणस्य
पुष्पिता, ११ विपाकश्रुतस्य पुष्पचूलिका, १२ दृष्टिवादस्य दृष्टिदशा (अन्धकदृष्टि-
दशा) इति”.

The 12 *upāṅgas* are not referred to, in *Samavāya*, the 4th *aṅga*, though, in its 12th *samavāya* there are mentioned several other objects 12 in number. What does this imply?

Furthermore is it not rather very strange that we do not come across any reference to “*upāṅga*,” much less to its number and its relationship with the *aṅga* even in *Nandīsūtra*, where a very big number of *āgamas* is mentioned along with their various divisions and subdivisions?

No doubt, we notice in this *Nandīsūtra*, all the works later on

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1. Some of the works written in a *Sūtra* style are themselves so named.
 2. This is partly supported by Siddhasena Gaṇi's commentary; for, it only helps us to believe it to be an *upāṅga* but it does not enlighten us as to its being an *upāṅga* of a particular *aṅga*.

styled as *upāṅgas*, and that, too, in the very order above referred to, though, at times another work or works intervene.¹

The earliest work to which I have traced up-till-now the use of the word *upāṅga* is *Umāsvāti's Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20, p. 93). It is but natural that we find this word in its commentary (p. 94) composed by *Siddhasena Gaṇi*. But, strange to say, this erudite commentator, too, has not supplied us with a list of the 12 *upāṅgas*; for, he has named only two *upāṅgas* and those also, in an order just the reverse from the one mentioned in *Prameya-ratnamāñjūṣā*.

Moreover, is it not more than significant that we do not find the names of the 12 *upāṅgas* in *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, a magnificent lexicon of *Hemacandra Sūri*, as well as in its commentary by the same author, a *Jaina* polygraph, even when he has respectively stated in these two works “ सोपाङ्गान्यङ्गानि ” (II, 159) and “ सहोपाङ्गैरपपातिकादिभिर्वर्तन्ते सोपाङ्गानि ” (p. 104)? Can this be looked upon as a sufficient ground to infer that he did not endorse the number of the *upāṅgas* as 12 or that he did not believe that there was any order ?

If we were to consider the relationship between the *aṅgas* and the *upāṅgas*, in most of the cases we shall find that there is hardly any connection between an *aṅga* and its *upāṅga* so far as the subject-matter is concerned. Will it be too much to say that

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1. To elucidate this remark the corresponding portion is being cited as follows :—

“ उक्ताल्लिअं अणेगविहं पण्णत्तं, तं — दसवैआलिअं, कापिआकपिअं, चुल्ल-कप्पसुअं, महाकप्पसुअं, उववाइअं, रायपसेणिअं, जीवामिगमो, पण्णवणा, महापण्णवणा, पमायप्पमार्यं, नंदी, अण्णओगढाराइं, देविंदित्थओ, तंदुलवेआलिअं, चंदाविज्झयं, सूरपण्णत्ती, पोगिसिंमंडलं, मंडलपवेसो, विज्जाचरणविणिच्छओ, गणिविज्जा, ज्ञाणविभत्ती, मरणविभत्ती. आयाविसोही, वीयरामसुअं, संलेहणासुअं, विहारकप्पो, चरणविही, आउरपच्चक्खाणं, महापच्चक्खाणं एवमाइ ... । स किं तं कालिअं ? कालिअं अणेगविहं पण्णत्तं, तं जहा — उरुज्झयणाइं, दसाआ, कप्पो, बवहतो, निसीहं, महानिसीहं, इसिमासिआइं, जंबुदीवपन्नत्ता, ठविसागरपन्नत्ता, चंदपन्नत्ती, खुड्डिआ विमाणपविभत्ती, महल्लिआ विमाणपविभत्ती, अंगचुलिआ, वगचुलिआ, विवाहचुलिआ, अरुणोववाए, वरुणोववाए, गरुलोववाए, धरणोववाए, वेसमणोववाए, वेल्धरोववाए, देविंदोववाए, उट्ठणसुए, समुट्ठणसुए, नागपरिआवणिआओ, निरयावलिआओ, कापिआओ, कप्पवडिंसिआओ, पुप्फिआओ, पुप्फचुलिआओ, वण्णीदसाओ, एवमाइयाइं.”

Upāsakadaśāṅga and *Candraprajñapti* as well as *Jñātūdharmakathāṅga* and *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, have no common subject, which may enable us to deduce their *aṅgopāṅgabhāva*? *Drstivāda*¹ and *Vṛśṇidasā* can very well be included in this very category, but this case is reserved, since the contents of *Drstivāda* are not sufficiently known, owing to its being lost.

Thus, the conclusions we can safely arrive at so far as the *Śvetāmbara* literature is concerned are that (i) the word *upāṅga* can be traced up to *Tattvārthabhāṣya*, (ii) its number was regarded as more than two, at least by *Siddhasena Gaṇi*, (iii) its order and its relationship with the corresponding *aṅga* date back to *Śānticaṇḍra Gaṇi*'s time at least, and (iv) that there was a difference of opinion regarding them amongst the *Śvetāmbaras* in his time.

It will not be amiss to add here that a splendid work like *Tattvārtharājavārtika* has not even mentioned the word *upāṅga*, though it gives an elaborate treatment of the various classifications of *Śrūta-jñāna*. Even *Śrutaskandha*, a *Digāmbara* work is silent on this point. What does this convey?

With this digression, if it can be so called, we shall now examine the title of this 2nd *upāṅga*.

The title — *Rājaprasānīya* is called *Rāyapareṇīya* in Prakrit, but this seems to be hardly justifiable. For, *Paṇha* and *Pasīna* are the two Prakrit renderings of the word *Prasāna*. Consequently, the Prakrit name of *Rājaprasānīya* ought to be either *Rāyapaṇhīya* or *Rāyapasinīya*. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a linguistic connection between the Sanskrit and Prakrit titles of this *upāṅga*.

This title *Rājaprasānīya* seems to imply a work dealing with the questions asked by a king, a fact corroborated by the contents of this work, since it contains the queries raised by king *Pradeśi*.²

1. The 14 pūrvas form an important part of this work. Various theories have been propounded as regards their origin etc. The present writer hopes to deal with them at an early date.

2. This reminds us of Milinda-questions in the Buddhist literature,

It may be mentioned in this connection that *Weber* has suggested that the real title ought to be *Rājapradeśiya*, (*Rājapaesīya*¹ in Prakrit), as it is thoroughly significant.

Siddhasena Gani, in his commentary to *Tattvārthabhāṣya* has referred to this *upāṅga* under altogether a new title viz. *Rājaprasaṅgiya*.² I have not up-till-now come across any *Jaina* work, prior or posterior to this commentary where it is so named. Will any scholar kindly enlighten me as to its propriety and oblige?

Contents — Birth of king *Pradesi* as *Sūryābhadeva*, his celestial grandeur and enjoyments, his staging of a ³drama⁴ and a dance⁵ in the presence of *śramaṇa bhagavan Mahāvīra*, even when He neither gives His assent nor expresses His dissent, description of the *vimāna* of *Sūryābha*, and the questions pertaining to *Jīva*'s identity with body raised by him and their replies by *Keśi nirgrantha*,⁶ a follower of Lord *Pārśva*⁷ are some of the main topics treated at length in *Rājaprasaṅgiyasūtra*.

1. There seems to be a possibility of this word (राजप्रदेशिय) being mistaken for राजप्रसंगिय. Even if it is so, this wrong title must have been in vogue since a very long period.
2. Even on p. 51a of the palymara Ms. No. ⁷ 1881-12 of the Government Mss. Collection deposited at the B. O. R. Institute, this is so spelt.
3. A beautiful description of this along with its 32 varieties is one of the many attractive features of *Rājaprasaṅgiyasūtra*.
- 4-5. For a connection between these two viz. *nāṭaka* and *nṛtya* see the last lecture in *Āryavidyāvyākhyānamālā* p. 233 ff.
6. This is the name by which the *Jaina* saints are generally referred to in the non-*Jaina* literature, e. g. *Majjhimanikāya* I. 370--375 etc. For other Buddhist references, *Pali English Dictionary* (edited by Rhys Davids) may be consulted.
7. Very recently I happened to notice a casual remark in the *Calcutta Review* May 1932 (p. 268) where the historicity of *Pārśvanātha* is doubted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi M.A., D. Litt., the reviewer. I would like to know the criterion or criteria necessary for establishing the existence of an individual. Will the reviewer or any other scholar be pleased to elucidate this point?

REVIEWS

BUDDHISTIC STUDIES, EDITED BY DR. B. C. LAW, Ph.D., M.A.,
B. L., xii + 900 pp. 4 pl. Thacker, Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta
and Simla, 1931.

Dr. B. C. Law's energetic and versatile abilities have in this work resulted in a large volume of great interest to students of Buddhism. We have here a collection of thirty-six essays contributed by Eastern and Western scholars. It is indeed a matter of congratulation to find East and West engaged in a work of common learning and research, but there is no doubt that as a whole it is an achievement of Eastern scholarship, for more than two-thirds of the chapters are by Indian, Sinhalese and Japanese authorities, and Jain scholarship has also contributed.

One of the merits of a work of this kind is that it serves to bring into relief the obscure or neglected portions of a field of study, and to contribute items which not merely fill up gaps, but which may put the whole subject in a new light. Such is the first chapter in the volume by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on *The Buddhism of Marimekhalai*, an epic (or a portion of an epic) which throws light on the type of Buddhism found in Tamil-speaking lands during the early centuries of the Christian era. The spread of Buddhism to the south is still largely hypothetical, and it is such investigation of details and indirect evidence that we shall be gradually able to see our way more clearly, and piece together an intelligible picture. Another chapter, entitled *Buddhism in Tamil literature* by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, goes partly over the same ground, and each essay supplements the other.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar contributes the second chapter on the *Buddhist Councils*. The various views regarding these nerve-centres of history vary from complete credulity to complete scepticism, and the author marshals the facts that must be accounted for in forming a balanced historical judgment. He also explodes some of the now hoary theories and speculations that have been based upon the facts. Three chapters by the editor deal mainly with the period of the lifetime of the Founder, *Six heretical teachers, Gautama*

Buddha and the Faribrajakas, and Some Ancient Indian Kings. This is a period which the author has made specially his own. In all these we are in a region which, even if it can be said to have been brought within the range of history, still requires the application of modern historical principles. The learned editor has diligently collected the data on which they must work, and applies his usual skill in laying bare and smoothing out the evidence. There are two chapters on different aspects of Indian education, and each writer seems to have succeeded in excluding all the evidence adduced by the other. That on *Ancient Indian education from the Jātakas* is by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, and its range is shown by its title. The present paper, he tells us, is part of a comprehensive work on ancient Indian education in two volumes, Brahmanical and Buddhist, and is now ready for the press. This should add greatly to our knowledge of ancient Indian thought.

What may be called the philosophy of Buddhism is mainly included in the chapters on *The Buddhist Conception of Māra*, by the editor, *Dukkha and Sukha*, by Mr. E. H. Brewster, *Faith in Buddhism*, by Dr. B. M. Barua, *Samsāra or Buddhist philosophy of birth and death*, by Rev. Nārada, *Wanted a philosophy of life, Buddhism*, by Mr. C. E. Ball, *Nibbāṇa*, by Rev. Nārada, *Man as willer* by Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *on Karma*, by Dr. S. Tachibana, and *Christian Mysticism in the light of the Buddha's doctrine*, by Dr. G. Grimm.

Without being invidious special attention may be drawn to *Chips from a Buddhist Workshop* from the veteran pen of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, and Dr. S. Dasgupta's *Philosophy of Lankāvatāra*. These are the two chief essays which deal specially with Mahāyāna developments. The *Chips* is concerned rather with the mode of development of the later doctrines than with their philosophical significance, but it is the only sound method. We must know first how the schools arose and split up if we are to place the literature in an intelligible order of development. It is one of these schools exemplified in the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* which Dr. Dasgupta expounds and carefully distinguishes from other forms of Buddhist idealism.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes in a refreshingly common-sense way about *Asoka and his Mission*. He shows what Dhamma meant for Asoka, and deals with the painful perverseness of those who are surprised that Nirvāṇa is not mentioned in the inscriptions, as if Nirvāṇa could have had a meaning for lay people who were not aiming at it. History is further represented by Dr. R. Mookerjee on *The Authenticity of Asokan Legends*, Dr. Hem Chandra Rai Chaudhuri on *Buddhism in Western Asia*, *A short History of Ceylon* by Dr. W. Geiger, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* by Dr. W. A. de Silva, *Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China* by Mr. Louis Finot, and *Buddhist Festivals in Ceylon* by Mr. S. Paranavitane. No less important for history is the long and excellently documented chapter by Mr. C. D. Chatterjee on *Some numismatic data in Pali literature*.

Vinaya is discussed by Dr. M. Nagai in his deeply interesting and candid chapter on *Buddhist Vinaya discipline or Buddhist Commandments*. Mythology and iconography are dealt with in the chapters on *Buddhist worship and idolatry* by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *A comparative study of Hindu and Buddhist Mythology* by Mr. Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri, and By Mr. N. Ray in his *Notes on Bodhisattva Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna gods in Burma* with six excellent photographs. Grammar is represented by the Rev. R. Siddhartha's chapter on *Origin and development of Pāli language with special reference to Sanskrit grammar* and Dr. A. B. Keith on *The home of Pāli*.

The catholicity of the volume is shown by an excellent chapter contributed by Mr. K. P. Jāin on *Mahāvīra and Buddha*. Neither religion loses anything by a temperate statement of the principles which each holds essential. Indeed the calm temper of the whole volume is what we should expect from writers who all share devotion to the common principle of *ahiṃsā*, and the editor is to be sincerely congratulated on the success of his enterprise.

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THE CHĀNDOGYAMANTRABHĀŚYA OF GUṆAVISṬU
EDITED BY DURGAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA, Sanskrit Śāhi-
tya Parishad, Calcutta 1930.

The work under review is an old and important commentary on select Vedic Mantras that are recited by a Chandoga or Sāmavedin householder in connection with the performance of various domestic rites. Guṇavisṭu is a much respected commentator and his readings and interpretations of Vedic Mantras are regarded authoritative in the province of Bengal and in Mithilā in Bihar. The need of a scholarly edition of this work has long been a desideratum and this critical and handsome edition issued under the auspices of the Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad will be welcome to all.

The book was edited in 1906 by Mahāmahopādhyāya Parameshwar Jha of Mithilā. That was a nice edition but there was no division into chapters. It also lacked references to the original sources. In Bengal, parts of Guṇavisṭu's Bhāṣya have been printed times without number as explanations of Mantars in the Paddhati compiled by Bhavadeva. But in very few of these there is any serious attempt to settle the real text. In the edition of Pandit Shyamacharan Kaviratna numerous emendations have been freely made without the support of Mss., and what is worse, he has rejected some passages unwarrantedly.

The Mantras commented upon in the Chāndogyamantrabhāṣya are divided into eight sections, all arranged in accordance with the order of the rituals for which the Mantras are meant. The compilation, either made by the commentator himself or handed down to him by tradition in the form of a Mantrapāṭha, contains more than four hundred Vedic Mantras taken from the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the four Vedas. The largest number of them, however, are taken from the Mantra-brāhmaṇa and the Gobhila-Gṛhya-Sūtra, two Sāmaveda works.

The commentary though sometimes wanting in the elaborate etymological discussions of the celebrated scholiast Sāyaṇa, is marked for its brevity, simplicity and directness of style. The

commentator seems to have followed at times a school of interpretation different from that followed by Sāyana.

The present editor professor Bhattacharyya has acquitted himself very ably. With the help of various materials detailed in his Introduction he has been able to settle the true text of the commentary which in several places seemed to be hopelessly corrupt.

The Introduction contains a valuable account of the work and its author Gunavīṣṇu. The data have been gathered not only from the printed texts but also from a number of manuscripts. The discussions show that the editor Professor Bhattacharyya has carefully studied the relevant writings of scholars including Oldenberg, Stöner, Jørgensen and Winternitz and has brought critical ability to bear upon the subject. From the evidences supplied by the works of Aniruddha, Halāyudha, Raghunandana, Satrugna, Nityānanda and Rāmanātha the very legitimate conclusion is reached that Gunavīṣṇu lived during the 12th century of the Christian era at the courts of Ballālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. This also was the conclusion of Mahā-mahopādhyāya Parameshwar Jha. Passages have been quoted from Sāyana's commentary to show that Sāyana is in several places indebted to Gunavīṣṇu.

The most notable feature of the present edition is the number of indices and appendices. They are indispensable for the proper utilization of texts of this kind. To the alphabetical index of the Mantras occurring in the text, a very useful list of the 'Viniyogas' of every Mantra has been added, and a concordance of the Mantras covering more than thirty pages together with a list of quotations contained in the body of the work has been appended. In this concordance the editor has not merely used the Vedic Concordance of Bloomfield, but has sometimes corrected it, and, what is more important, he has adduced readings from four new works that had not been used by Bloomfield.

The present text edited is much more improved than that of Mm. Parameshwar Jha. Some of the important improvements noticed in the edition are given below :—

- (1) Portions of the commentary not found in Mahāmaho-
pādhyāya Jha's edition have been supplied in this (pp.
149, 150, 152)
- (2) Some quotations attributed to Śruti in Mm. Jha's edition
have been traced to Smṛti works.
- (3) Errors in quoting Pāṇini's rules as also Śruti passages
have been corrected.
- (4) Correct readings of Mantras with three commentaries,
have been discovered; and in all this the editor has been
guided by the original Vedic text as well as Guṇavisnu's
manuscripts.
- (5) Occasional emendations of the Mantra texts and their
commentaries have been made on a comparison of several
manuscripts with other allied works such as the Brā-
hmana-Sarvasva of Halāyudha and the Sāmaga-Mantra-
Vyākhyāna of Rāmanātha, e. g., 'Sahaḥ' 'Utsāhaḥ' in this
edition (p. 152) instead of 'mahaḥ' 'Utsavaḥ' of the
previous edition (p. 172).
- (6) In the Mm. Jha's edition, grammatical disquisitions are
sometimes found supplied in respect of commentaries on
wrong readings of certain Mantras which have been
corrected in the present edition, e. g., 'pañviṃśa' which
should really be 'padviṃśa', has been commented on in
Mm. Jha's edition (p. 55) thus :

Pañviṃśa iti pacer = acaḥ paro viśo nipātanād vargāntaḥ

Jha's edition	Present edition
Vrstyam, p. 18	Vrsnyam, p. 17 (mantra)
Tvamadyān, p. 19	Tvamadyā, p. 18 (mantra)
Pramino Yudhāyayan, p. 21	Pramṛṇo yudhā jayan p. 19 (mantra)
Viśvarūpe, p. 21.	Viṣurūpe, p. 20. (mantra)
Panviṃśaḥ, p. 55,	Padviṃśaḥ, p. 49. (mantra)

Prthuhā, p. 134.

Prthvahā, p. 114 (mantra); (this
reading however is given in the
foot-note of Jha's edition)

Viprān Visthayā, p. 163.

Viprā naviṣṭhayā, p. 141. (mantra)

Visthayā Viśeṣeṇa Sthitayā,
p. 163.

Navisthayā atyantābhinavayā,
p. 152. (commentary)

Anuneyam, p. 168.

Arthaneyam (=Arthanā + iyaṁ
p. 148 (commentary)

Mahāḥ Utsavaḥ, p. 172.

Sahāḥ utsāhāḥ, p. 152 (commen-
tary)

S. N. PRADHAN

KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ, BY PROF. PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA, M. A., Vidyāvinoda. Published by MR. SURENDRA CHANDRA RAICHAUDHURI, Secretary, Rangpur Sahitya Parishat. Price Rupees Six only. 1338 B. S.

We have here the text, and Bengali translation with elaborate historical and exegetical notes of seven copperplate grants and one Rock Inscription— all belonging to Kings of Assam up to the time of Dharmapāla (circa 12th century). Most of these records were already thoroughly studied by the present editor in different Bengali journals and in some cases in English journals as well. The work under review, therefore, is a collection of the papers of the editor, written during the last quarter of a century, with necessary additions and alterations as was required by later thought and further investigations.

This is the second collection of inscriptions to be published in Bengali. The first was the *Gaudalekhamālā* (Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. I) by the late lamented Aksayakumāra Maitreya published twenty years back in 1319 B. S. Of similar works in other Indian vernaculars reference may be made to the three volumes of Jain Inscriptions edited and published by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta. But it must be said to the credit of the editors of the Bengali volumes that they have carried out their task in the right scientific way.

There are some notable peculiarities in several of the grants, as pointed out by the editor, to which the notice of the readers needs be drawn. (1) The absence of imprecatory verses in the concluding portions of grants issued by Kings of Kāmarūpa, save and except the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman which, however, is found to have been issued from Karnasuvarna in Bengal. (2) The composition of portions of a grant by the royal donor as in the case of the first eight verses of the Puspabhadra copperplate of Dharmapāla (p. 173). (3) The use of epithets of the royal donor after the conclusion of the formal part of the grant as in the case of the Guākuçi copperplate of Indrapāla II which has been styled the "Strange copperplate" (pp. 132 f. n. 3).

Some facts of interest from the point of view of social and cultural history not referred to by the editor may also be noted here. The skill in archery of a Brahman named Himāṅga—one of the donees in the Śubhamkarapāṭaka grant of Dharmapāla (first half of the twelfth century)—is described in detail (p. 156). We know of another Brāhmaṇa of Bengal, Kedāramiśra, whose qualities as a warrior as well as a man of letters are referred to (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Vol. XI, p. 243). Another Brāhmaṇa the grand-father of the donee of the Puspabhadra copperplate of Dharmapāla is described as having possessed, like the donor, a knowledge of the fine arts (pp. 173, 174) which were generally acquired by Ksatriyas alone.

The same Brāhmaṇa is also described as having had his intellect developed by means of his study of Mīmāṃsā. It is to be noted that this system of philosophy which required a thorough acquaintance with the Vedic literature was popular from fairly early period in Eastern India where Vedic studies were neglected at least in a later period (*Ind. Ant.* 1929, p. 202).¹

As a matter of fact it may be reasonable to suppose that Vedic studies as well as Vedic rites were not entirely neglected during the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries in Bengal² or Assam. In the records, we are dealing with, it is definitely stated that Bhijjata studied the Yajurveda with all its accessories (p. 64), that Devadatta was the chief of Vedic scholars, the Vedas having had their aims fulfilled in him, that his son was a regular performer of Vedic sacrifices (*agnyāhūta*) (p. 99), and that Devadhara who was an *adhvaryu* duly practised Vedic rites (p. 78). It does not seem that all these statements were nothing but formal.

The learned editor has suggested some new interpretations of particular words, expressions etc. Some of these are worth noti-

-
1. An epithet of this Brāhmaṇa — *Cānakya-mānīkya-bhū* — may mean, as supposed by the editor, that he was, as it were, the source of the jewels (i. e. the moral maxims) of Cāṇakya. A knowledge of these would, thus, seem to have come to be regarded as highly commendable at that time.
 2. C. Chakravarti — Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute — Vol. XI, pp. 243-4; D. Bhattacharya — *Haraprasāda-Samvardhana-lekhamālā* (in Bengali) — Vol. II, pp. 207 ff.

cing. The symbol used at the beginning of most epigraphic records is usually taken to be nothing but *Cmkāra* or *Pranava*. But as Mr. Bhattacharya has rightly pointed out (pp. 55-6) this is the symbol known as *Āñjī* in Bengal and used at the beginning of letters of the alphabet until sometime back. It cannot be *pranava* as it is, in some cases, found used even before *Pranavas*.

But all his interpretations are not free from doubts. According to him (p. 31. f. n. 1) the *Himālaya* is also a *Kulācala*, but this is well-known as a *Varṣaparvata* which separates one *varṣa* from another. In cases where there is reference to eight *Kulācalas* as in the *Mohamudgara* of Śamkarācārya the Mahendra and not the *Himālaya* should be counted in the list. As a matter of fact the Mahendra is regarded as a *Kulācala* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VIII. 7. 6.).

Prākāmya (p. 101. f. n. 5) is stated to be one of six *Aisvaryas*, while it is really one of eight as appears from the list quoted by the editor himself.

The explanation of the unusual epithet *Govarṇamānavaidya*—applied to Prasthānakalaśa, the poet who composed the document recorded in the 'First copperplate of Dharmapāla'—as one conversant (*Vaidya*) in the measurement of letters in speech (i. e. prose and poetic composition) is ingenuous (p. 161. f. n. 1). But it cannot be supposed to be free from all doubts.

It may be stated here that the practice of referring to paddy grains in terms of a cardinal number (e. g. thousands) without mentioning the unit of measurement (p. 72)—a practice followed in more than one record—is still found in some parts of Eastern Bengal where, however, 'hundred' is used in place of 'thousand'.

The editor has omitted to take note of some of the latest theories raised in connection with some of the records. Thus there is no reference either in the body of the book or in the section called *Saṃyojanī O Saṃśodhanī* (Addenda and Errata) to the question raised by Mr. Ramtarak Bhattacharya as early as 1919 (in a paper entitled '*Pañcakhaṇḍa O Tāmraśāśna*' read before the sixteenth session of the *Śrīhaṭṭa Vaidik samiti*, and by Mr. J. C. Ghosh (I. H. Q.

—VI. 60ff.) with regard to the location of the land granted in the Nidhanapura copperplate of Bhāskaravarman. Neither is there any reference to the issue opened by Mr. Ghosh (*loc. cit.*) and supported by Mr. K. M. Gupta (I. H. Q.--VII. 718ff) with respect to the identification of the donees of the said grant with the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas on the basis, among other things, of what are supposed to be their surnames as found in the record in question.

The identification of Śrāvasti in the Silimpur copperplate (Ep. Ind. XIII. 283 ff.) with some region in Gauda as suggested by Mr. R. G. Basak has been refuted by the present editor (p. 164-5) and according to him it is to be located in some part of Aasam. But it is to be noted that another scholar has of late come forward with further arguments to support Mr. Basak (*Ind. Ant.* 1931-pp. 14-18).

The learned editor has deviated in one point from the usual practice observed in editing inscriptions. He has, as is done in the edition of old texts, incorporated the emended readings in the body of the book pointing out the readings found in the foot-notes. It is not known if this will be appreciated and followed by epigraphists.

Some minor inaccuracies and misprints are found to have crept into the book. We may mention the following. भविष्यास्तव has become मविष्यास्तव (Introduction p. 19 f. n.), Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar has become Dr. Nanigopal Majumdar (Introduction p. 26, f. n. 2), °रुद्रपती has become °रुद्रती (p. 138 l. i).

Question of funds seems to have prevented the learned editor from appending facsimiles of all the plates some of which are in private possession, rendering it difficult to check the readings in doubtful cases, if any.

On the whole, the work is a very important publication, which will be indispensable to every scholar dealing with the history of Eastern India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI



VOL. XIV]

[PARTS III.

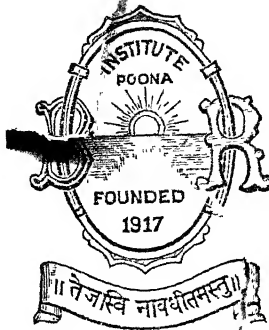
**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona
Volume XIV
1932-33**

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Printed and published by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D., at the
Bhandarkar Institute Press, Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona No. 4

POONA

1933

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA

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VOL. XIV]

[PARTS III-IV

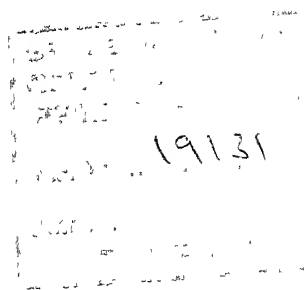
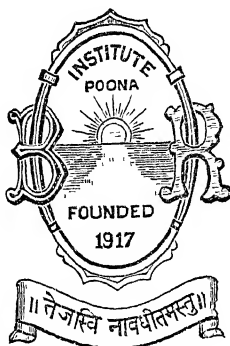
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Research Institute, Poona No. 4

POONA

1933

CONTENTS

VOLUME XIV, PARTS III-IV

(21st September 1933)

ARTICLES	Pages
1 The Visnusvāmin Riddle by Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray, B. A. ...	161-181
2 The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāna by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, B. A. (Hons.) ...	182-218
3 Sutte by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M. A. ...	219-240
4 The Two Bhāgavatas by S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A. ...	241-249

MISCELLANEA

5 Literary Notes : by V. Raghavan, B. A. (Hons.) (1) Sāndhivigrahika criticised by Śrī Vidyā- cakravartin, (2) The Laghu Tikā on the Kāvyaaprakāśa, (3) The Bharata Śaṁgraha of Śrī Vidyācakravartin, (4) The Rasaratnakośa, The Nātakaratnakośa and the Saṁgīta Rāja, ...	250-263
6 A Note on Nisidhi (Nisidiyā of Khāravēla Inscription) by Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A. ...	264-266
7 Nāgara Apabhraṁśa and Nāgarī Script a Review by Prof. N. B. Divatia, B. A. ...	267-270
8 Nāgara Apabhraṁśa by Prof. N. B. Divatia, B. A....	271-272
9 References to the Bauddhas and their Philosophy in Umāsvāti's Tattvārthabhāṣya and Siddha- sena Gani's Commentary to it, by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M. A. ...	273
10 वेदान्तवागीशमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीधरशास्त्रीपाठकमहोदयानां धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यानमालायां त्रीणि व्याख्यानानि ...	१-२९

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

VOL. XIV]

APRIL - JULY

[PARTS III-IV

THE VIṢṆUSVĀMIN RIDDLE*

BY

RAI BAHADUR AMARNATH RAY, B. A.

I

Viṣṇusvāmin is a veritable riddle to us. He is said to have been the founder, or at least the most important teacher of the Rudra Sect of Vaisnavas. The other three sects are known as the Śrī, the Cātuḥsana and the Brahmā Sects, connected with the names of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Madhva respectively. About this, the following verse is often quoted :—

“Rāmānujam Śrīh Svīcakre Madhvācāryaṃ Caturmukhaḥ
Śrīviṣṇusvāminam Rudro Nimbādityam Cātuḥsaraḥ.”

Very little, however, is known about Viṣṇusvāmin. Aufrecht credits him with the authorship of a gloss on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa: while another writer of eminence¹ ascribes to him authorship of commentaries on the Vedānta and the Gītā, and mentions him as an author of the Madhvācārya Sect, earlier than

*Read at a meeting of the Sanskrit-Bengali Association of the University of Dacca on the 28th January, 1932.

1. See Indexes to the “Sarvadarśana-Saṃgraha”, edited by M. M. Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar.

Madhva himself, which is rather amusing. Elsewhere¹ we find it said that Visnusvāmin wrote Commentaries on the Vedas. These are all pure guesses, and all that we may safely hold is that Visnusvāmin, as the founder or the Chief Ācārya of a sect, must have written some works which have unfortunately been lost. This would appear strange as the works of all the three other leading Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas have been carefully preserved, and as Visnusvāmin evidently did not belong to a hoary antiquity. Yājñeśvara, in the Āryavidyā-Sudhākara (p. 24) says that Visnusvāmin's father was the prime minister of a Draviḍa Chief under the Emperor of Delhi, so that Visnusvāmin lived after Moslem influence had spread to the South. R. G. Bhandarkar² holds that Visnusvāmin lived in the thirteenth century A. D.

That great scholar says that Visnusvāmin's philosophy was the same as that of Vallabha. This might be an inference from the fact that a certain section of Vallabhācārya's followers trace their sect to Visnusvāmin, or from the account of Visnusvāmin's philosophy to be found in the 'Sakalācārya-mata-samgraha' by Śrīnivāsa, the well-known author of another work, the 'Yatindra-matadipikā,' a summary of Rāmānuja's a Śrībhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras. Any one familiar with the Anubhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras by Vallabha will not fail to observe that this account of Visnusvāmin's Philosophy reads like a concise but faithful summary of that commentary. It appears likely that by Śrīnivāsa's time, which was possibly some part of the eighteenth century, Visnusvāmin's philosophy had come to be identified with that of Vallabha. But, in his commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, III. 32, 37, Vallabha refers to an interpretation put on the verse by the followers of Viṣṇusvāmin, Madhva and Rāmānuja, and from the nature of that reference, some of Vallabha's followers hold that Vallabha was not a teacher of the Viṣṇusvāmin Sect and that his philosophy was different.³

1. See the accounts of Vallabhācārya in Prajñānāṇanda Sarasvatī's History of the Vedānta Darśana (in Bengali) Vol. II., and in the Bengali Viśvakoṣa.

2. See 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Sects,' p. 77.

3. I am indebted to Professor G. H. Bhatt, of the Baroda College, a member of the Vallabhācārya Sampradāya, for this reference.

The History of the Vedānta Philosophy by Prajñānānanda Sarasvati,¹ and the Bengali *Viśvakosa*² mention a tradition that Viṣṇusvāmin would not admit into discipleship any one but a Brahman willing to adopt the life of a Samnyāsīn. The tradition among a certain branch of the Vallabhācārya sect, to which I have already referred, is that Viṣṇusvāmin had a disciple, named Jñānadeva, who, in his turn, had two disciples, named Nāthadeva or Nāmādeva and Trilocana, and that Vallabha was a disciple of one of these two. This tradition appears to be fictitious. We know definitely that Vallabha was born in 1479 A. D., and if this tradition were true, Viṣṇusvāmin would be a teacher who lived between the latter half of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries. This is highly improbable. Then, again, the Bhaktamālā tells us that Jñānadeva was the son of a Brahman, outcasted for reverting to the life of a householder after having adopted Samnyāsa, that Nāmādeva was widow's son, and Trilocana a non-Brahman tailor. Vallabha himself is alleged to have renounced samnyāsa and to have reverted to the life of a householder. All this would conflict with Viṣṇusvāmin's alleged fastidiousness in the selection of disciples. Vallabha is also known to have advised his followers not to shun the good things of life, a teaching contrary to the rigorism ascribed to Viṣṇusvāmin. Then again, in his Commentary on the Brahmasūtras, Vallabha denies that a Śūdra was entitled to Brahmavidyā and it would be curious if in the face of such opinion, he permitted himself to be initiated by a Śūdra, nay, an *ati-Śūdra*.

The "Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta"³ tells us that Caitanyadeva sharply rebuked one Vallabha Bhatta for having differed in his Commentary on the Bhāgavata, from Śrīdhara Svāmī's interpretation, thereof. In a recent edition of the 'Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta,' we find it stated that this Vallabha Bhatta was a different person from Śuddhādvaitin Ācārya of that name; but it is generally believed that the 'Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta' refers to this Ācārya; and Kṛṣṇadāsa, the author of the Bengali Bhaktamālā,

1 & 2. See the account of Vallabhācārya in each of these works.

3. 'Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta', Pt. III. Ch. 7.

writing in the eighteenth century, distinctly says so in the very beginning of his account of Vallabhācārya.¹ Then again, some Bengali Vaisnavas hold that the Śrīdhara Svāmin, from whom Vallabha is alleged to have differed, and who was the well-known author of commentaries on the Gītā, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, was an Ācārya of the Viṣṇu-svāmin Sect.² M. M. Professor Bhagavata-kumar Shastri has expressed the same opinion in a letter written to me. I shall revert to this matter later on, but I may say here that the interpretation of verse 37, ch. 32, Bk. III, of the Bhāgavata which Vallabha, in his Commentary thereon, ascribes to the followers of Viṣṇu-svāmin, Madhvācārya, and Rāmānuja, is to be found in Śrīdhara's tīkā on that verse: and nobody ever believed or suggested that Śrīdhara belonged either to the Rāmānuja or Madhvācārya Sect. Then, again, one finds it difficult to find out why Vallabha should have materially differed from Śrīdhara Svāmin, if both belonged to the same sect, namely, the Viṣṇu-svāmin sect. In his commentaries on the Brahmasūtras or the Bhāgavata, Vallabha never even mentions Viṣṇu-svāmin as a Pūrvācārya, and in the first commentary he claims that his exposition was original and that he owed it to the grace of Śrīkṛṣṇa.

“ Nānāmatādhvānta vināśanaksamo
Vedāntahrtpadmaṇḍikāsane patuh
Āviśkrto'yam bhuvi bhāṣyabhāṣkaro
Mudhā budhā dhāvata nā'nyavartmasu.”

Then again,

“ Śrīkṛṣṇakṛpayaivā'yam Siddhānto hr̥di bhāṣate.”

The late lamented M. M. Haraprasad Shastri told me that Lakṣmana Bhaṭṭa, the father of Vallabha, was a follower of the Viṣṇu-svāmin cult, whom the oppression of the Moslem rulers of the Telugu Country compelled to seek abode in Benares. Vallabha might have been connected with the Viṣṇu-svāmin Sect,

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1. No Commentary on the Bhāgavata by any other Vallabha Bhaṭṭa has come down to us.
 2. See Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā with the commentary of Viśva-nātha, published by the Gauḍīya maṭha of Calcutta,

in some way, direct or indirect, but it seems clear that he did not own absolute allegiance to that teacher's doctrines. His ascendancy, on the other hand, appears to have been one of the reasons which have relegated Visnusvāmin, his works, and his Śuddhādvaita to the limbs of oblivion. Then again, in this country, it has been the fashion to refer every new doctrine to antiquity; the Viśistādvaita of Rāmānuja has been traced back to Śrī or Laksmī, the dvaita of Madhva to Brahmā, and the dvaitādvaita of Nimbārka to the mythical Catuhsanas, viz., Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, and Sanat-Kumāra. There could be nothing strange, therefore, in the fictitious attempt to connect Vallabha with Śiva through Visnusvāmin. I may here narrate a certain myth which has been invented in order to connect Visnusvāmin with Rudra or Śiva. The Hindu Bhaktamāla by Nābhāji has nothing more to tell us about Visnusvāmin than what we have learnt from the Sanskrit verse about the four Vaisnava Sects I have already quoted. He paraphrases that verse in this way :—

“Ramāpaddhati Rāmānuja Visnusvāmi Tripurāri
Nimbāditya Sanakādi Madhukara Gurumukha cāri.”

Nābhāji has so many things to say about so many saints, but has nothing to add about Visnusvāmin. Nor does Priyadāsa, in his gloss on the Bhaktamāla, add to our knowledge. But in a recent *tīkā*, called the ‘Vārttika-tilaka’ first published in 1852, and possibly written not much earlier, we find the following mythical connection established between Rudra and Visnusvāmin. There was a man, named Premānanda or Paramānanda, who used to devoutly worship the God Varadārāja of Visnu-Kāñci. Varadārāja was much pleased, and asked the God Śiva of Śiva-Kāñci, his friendly neighbour and disciple, to initiate Premānanda into the Cult of Bālagopāla, — as if he could not do it himself, — and this was readily done. Visnusvāmin, is said to have been the 48th teacher in apostolic succession from Premānanda and 50th from the God Varadārāja, the Śiva of Śiva-Kāñci evidently coming between Varadārāja and Premānanda.

We have a few references to Visnusvāmin, in the account of Rasesvaradarśana in the ‘Sarvedarśanasamgraha,’ from which Yajñeśvara appears to have collected his scanty materials for the

brief but rather inaccurate exposition of Visnusvāmin's philosophy, to be found at p. 124 of the 'Āryavidyā-Sudhākara'. It is generally believed that Mādhava, the brother of Sāyana, the commentator on the Vedas, both the brothers being ministers of the Vijayanagar Kings, was the author of this work, and that he came to be known as Vidyāranya Muni on adopting Samnyāsa. Some people deny that this Mādhava and Vidyāranya were identical, while others say that there were three Mādhavas who lived about this time and who were all authors. Mādhava, the brother of Sāyana, was according to these Scholars, the writer of certain chapters of the 'Pañcadaśī', of the 'Jīvanmuktiviveka' and other works, a second Mādhava, who was a fighting minister of the Vijayanagar Kings, wrote the commentary on the Sūta-Samhitā, while a third Mādhava, being the son of the first Mādhava's brother, Sāyana, was the author of the 'Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha.' There is a third view that Mādhava, brother of Sāyana, was the author of the 'Sarvadarśanasamgraha', with the exception of the last chapter containing the account of Śāṃkara-Vedānta which was added by Sāyana's son or somebody else, and which is not to be found in some editions of the work. I find myself in agreement with this third view, but this is certainly not the place to enter into a discussion on the subject.

In the account of Raseśvaradarśana we find it stated that according to Visnusvāmin, the śarīra of Nṛsimha was 'nitya' or eternal, and the following verse is quoted in support of the statement, as from a work, named the 'Sākārasiddhi':—

"Saccinnityyanijācintya-pūrnānandaikavigraham
Nīpañcāsyamahm vande Śrīvisnusvāmisaṃmatam" ¹

A follower of Visnusvāmin, by name Garbha-Śrīkānta Miśra, is mentioned as having established that Nṛsimha had the viśeṣanas 'Sat', 'cit' etc. It need not be supposed, however, that this exposition of Visnusvāmin's doctrines gives a correct account of that teacher's philosophy. Mādhava appears to have sarcastically pointed out how the Raseśvarites would twist the meaning of the

1. It might be noted that this verse does not say that the 'Śarīra' of Nṛsimha is eternal.

well known Śruti passage 'Raso vai Sah', equating 'Rasa' with that blessed thing, mercury,—and of the sayings of old and recent teachers, like Govinda-bhagavatpāda (the guru of great Śaṅkara), and the author of Sākāra-Siddhi; respectively, in order to find support for their eccentric doctrine therein. Viṣṇusvāmin and Garbha-Śrīkānta are not so mentioned as if they belonged to a remote past.

Śrīdhara Svāmin, in his tikā on verse, I. 7. 6. of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quotes the following verses of Viṣṇusvāmin :—

"Taduktam Viṣṇusvāminā --

Hlāḍīnyā saṁvidāślistah saccidānanda Īśvarah
Svāvidyāsamvṛto Jīvah samkleśanikarākarah.

Tathā --

Sa Īśo yadavaśe māyā sa Jīvo yastyārditah
Svāvirbhūtaparānandah Svāvirbhūta-sudukkhabhūh
Svādruttha-viparyāsa-bhava-bhedaja-bhīsucāh
Yanmāyayā Jusannāste tamimam Nrharim numah "

In his tikā on verse, III. 12. 1-2, of the same Purāṇa, again, Śrīdhara names Viṣṇusvāmin and quotes a part of the third verse above; while in the tikā on the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, verse, I. 12. 70, he quotes the first of the above verses as from a work, named the 'Sarvajña-sūkti' (taduktam Sarvajñasūktau) which would show that Viṣṇusvāmin used to be known as the 'Sarvajña'. N. Venkatarāman¹ tells us that this distinction, which later Śaṅkarācārya earned, has been transferred by tradition to the great Śaṅkara. We know also that a few others have from time to time earned this distinction. We may take it, from their common adherence to the Nṛsimha Cult, that the Sarvajña Viṣṇusvāmin, quoted from by Śrīdhara and Viṣṇusvāmin, mentioned in the Rasesvaradarśana account, were identical.

The question which now engages our attention is whether this Sarvajña Viṣṇusvāmin could have been the author of the commentary on the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad and of the

1. See, Śaṅkarācārya the great and His Successors at Kāñci, p. 82-84.

Prapañcasāra Tantra, works erroneously attributed to the great Śamkara Pandit Vidhushekhara Shastri has proved that these works could not have been written by Śamkara.¹ These works must, as matter of fact, have been composed long after Śamkara's time. Śrīdhara, in his *tīkā* on the Bhāgavata, X. 87. 21, quotes the following Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya passage :—

“Yam sarve devā namanti mumuksavo brahmavādinaśca”,
(II. 4.) and proceeds, —

“Vyākhyātam ca Sarvajñair bhāsyakṛdbhiḥ,—muktā api līlayā
vīgraham kṛtvā bhajanta itī.”

Śrīdhara here quotes with slight variations, — possibly he quotes from memory, — from the commentary on the Upaniṣad, passing for a work of Śamkara, for there the passage is explained thus :—“Muktāśca līlayā vīgraham parigrhya namanti tyanu-sangah.” Vamśīdhara Śarmā, the writer of the ‘Bhāvārtha-dīpikā-prakāśa,’ which is a *tīkā* on Śrīdhara's annotation, explains the words ‘Sarvajñairbhāsyakṛdbhiḥ,’ as ‘Sarvajñairbhāsyakṛdbhir bhagavatpūjyapādair—Nṛsimha-tāpanyām,’ meaning that Śrīdhara was quoting from Śamkara's commentary on the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya. Vamśīdhara's recent age is responsible for this mistake, for not even the credulous Mādhava, the author of the Śamkaravijaya attributes this work to Śamkara, and Śrīdhara who appears from my researches about him, to have been a late fourteenth, or early fifteenth century teacher, at the East, could not possibly have mistaken a recent work like this commentary for a work of Śamkara.² In the introduction to his *tīkā* on the Gītā, Śrīdhara refers to Śamkara as the ‘bhāsyakāra’ and in the *tīkā* on verse 20, ch. XIII, of that work,

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1. See Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume III. pt. 2 p.100 et seq.
 2. Śrīdhara quotes Gauḍapāda, Śamkara, Sureśvara, and Anandabodhācārya, he knew Cit-Sukha's commentaries and also Vidyā Śamkara's commentary on the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad, but he does not quote from the ‘Pañcadaśī,’ the great source of inspiration to subsequent Advaitin writers. Possibly the fame of the ‘Pañcadaśī’ had not spread as far as Benares, where Śrīdhara used to live, in his time. His commentaries were known in Bengal early in the sixteenth century, if not earlier.

he speaks of Śaṁkara thus :—‘Śrīmacchamkarabhagavadbhāsyakṛdbhiḥ;’ he does not refer to Śaṁkara as Sarvajña. Again, if Śrīdhara had known two ‘Sarovajñas’, one being the author of the ‘Sarovajña-Sūkti’ and the other of the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya commentary, one might expect him to have indicated their difference. It should be remembered also that both these Sarvajñas were followers of the Nṛsimha Cult. The Commentator Sarvajña mentions, in six places, that the Prapañcasāra tantra is a work of his; and that tantra devotes a whole chapter to Nṛsimha rituals.

The Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya Upaniṣad inculcates ‘Nṛsimhākārabrahmavidyā’, and the ‘Sākāra-Siddhi’, referred to in the Rasesvara-darsana account, might possibly have had some connection with that Upaniṣad or with the commentary thereon. Vidyāranya, in the beginning of his commentary on the Nṛsimhottaratāpaniya Upaniṣad, after stating that the Nṛsimha-pūrvatāpaniya dealt with ‘Nṛsimhākāra-brahma’ observes as follows : “Tathā hyuktam vārttikakṛdbhiḥ :—

“Nṛsimhabrhmavidyaisā vyākhyātā jñānasiddhaye’ ”

This vārttika appears to refer to the following passage in the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya commentary - “Tāpaniyopaniṣacchrī - Nṛsimhākārabrahmaṁvisayā sātī nirākārābrahmapratipattiyupāyabhūtā.²” In another connection in his commentary, Vidyāranya quotes three verses of the Vārttikakāra, and in a third, one other verse. In Advaita Vedānta literature, Suresvarācārya is generally known as the Vārttikakāra, but the verses quoted cannot be traced to that great teacher’s works. The fact that the Nṛsimhākārabrahmavidyā appears to have been the topic common to the ‘Sākārasiddhi’ and to the vārttika work quoted from by Vidyāranya, leads one to think that the two works might, after all, be identical. The last vārttika quoted runs as follows :—

“Sarovajñakarunānunnā vicārajñānakāmaṁ
Īkṣaṇopacayānnādirūpeṇātha vivartate.”²

1. See lines 1-2 of the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya commentary p. 3. Ānandāśrama Edition.

2. See commentary on the Nṛsimhottaratāpaniya Upaniṣad, p. 145, Ānandāśrama Edition.

2 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

This means literally that the desire for discrimination and knowledge, not moistened by the grace of the omniscient, takes the false shapes of *Īkṣana* (observation or contemplation) *upacaya* (accumulation or growth), and *anna* (food or matter). There is an evident pun on the word 'Sarvajña', which, while referring directly to God, refers indirectly to the Sarvajña commentator of the *Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya*, not unlikely the Vārttikakāra's Guru. This Vārttika brings in the doctrine of 'prasāda' or grace. No wonder that the worshippers of a manifestation of Viṣṇu, believing in the doctrine of divine grace, should for a time, have been counted as a Vaiṣṇava sect, in spite of their Māyāvāda metaphysics. The devotion of this Vārttikakāra to the commentator discloses his temperamental likeness to Garbha Śrīkānta Miśra, whom Mādhyama, in the *Raseśvaradarśana* account, describes as 'Viṣṇusvāmiparinātāntaḥkarana' that is one whose inner organs were wholly bent towards the feet of Viṣṇusvāmin.

Mr. A. Govinda Wariyar tells us that a section of Śaṅkara's followers early took to the worship of Nṛsimha and Pārthasārathi¹. I may point out here that there is a common error that Śaṅkara's followers are Śaivas. As a matter of fact, his followers make no choice among the five deities, 'pañca-devatā' as they are called, viz. Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Sūrya and the Devī. People living in the country where Śaṅkara was born still point out an image which Śaṅkara used to worship before leaving home. The late Mr. Tilak has pointed that, in his recognised commentaries Śaṅkara, in giving instances of *pratīkopāśanā*, several times refers to the Śālagrāma Śilā,² but never to the 'Līṅgam' of Śiva. It is said that Padmapāda, the distinguished disciple of Śaṅkara, was a devotee of Nṛsimha, nay a Nṛsimha-siddha. No mention of Nṛsimha is to be found, however, in the fragment of the 'Pañcāpādikā' which has come down to us, and the story might have been invented after the spread of the Nṛsimha cult among Śaṅkara's followers with a view to make it look ancient. Citsukha, the author of the 'Tattvapradīpikā and Nṛsimhāśrama,

1. See 'Vilvamaṅgala Svāmīars' —I. H. Q. June, 1931.

2. See *Brahmasūtra* - I. 2. 7., 1. 3. 14., and 4. 1. 3. and *Chāndogya Commentary* 8. 1. 1.

the author of the 'Bhedadhikkāra' and the 'Bhāvārthaprakāśikā' are found making obeisances to Nṛsiṃha, while Śrīdhara is never tired of bowing to that deity. I have already said that some Bengal Vaiṣṇavas contend that Śrīdhara was an Ācārya of the Viṣṇusvāmin Sect. But it is known that his metaphysics was substantially the Advaitavāda of Śaṅkara, though he differed from that great teacher in adhering to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa doctrine that *Bhakti* for a līlāvatāra of Viṣṇu was the easiest way to liberation. That is exactly the position of the commentator of the Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya, who says, in a passage already quoted, that Nṛsiṃhākārabrahmavidyā led to the realisation of the Supreme Brahman. If Viṣṇusvāmin were the author of this commentary, as I think he was, those who say that Śrīdhara was a teacher of the Śaṅkara sect, and those who contend that he was an ascetic of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect, would find their respective position equally vindicated, for, in that case, Viṣṇusvāmin and Śrīdhara would both be merely teachers of a branch of the Śaṅkara sect with Vaiṣṇavite leanings, which went in for Nṛsiṃha worship.¹

It appears likely that this branch of the Śaṅkara sect came to be looked upon as the Rudra sect, not because as the Bhaktimāla Vārttika tells us, the fictitious Premānanda was initiated by the Śiva of Śiva-Kāñci, but because the Nṛsiṃha-rūpa is a rudra-rūpa of Viṣṇu as will appear from the following passages from the Nṛsiṃha-pūrvatāpanīya (I. 6) and the Prapañcasāra Tantra. The first passage runs thus :—

"Om rtaṁ satyaṁ paraṁ brahma puruṣaṁ Nṛkesarivīgrahaṁ, Kṛṣṇaṁ śālagalāmūrdhvaretāṁ, virūpākṣaṁ, Śaṅkaraṁ nīlālohitāṁ umāpatīṁ pīṇākināṁ" etc.

In explaining 'virūpākṣaṁ' the commentator says 'lālāṭa-netreṇa rudratāṁ prāpnoti.'

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1. That Śrīdhara belonged to the Śaṅkara sect is clear. He says that he wrote his ṭīkā on the Gītā after consulting the commentary of Śaṅkara and a ṭīkā thereon, add that, in ṭīkā on the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, he merely simplified the commentary of Citrukha. Nīlakaṇṭha, in the introduction to his ṭīkā on the Gītā, distinctly mentions Śaṅkara and Śrīdhara as having belonged to his own Sect.

The Prapañcasāra thus describes Nṛsiṃha :—

“Ugram virajutaṁ mahāntikamatho Viṣṇuṁ jvalantānvitam
Samproktā 'tha ca sarvatomukha-Nṛsiṁhārṇam-stathā bhīṣanam.”

The Nṛsiṃha cult appears from the evidence of its two Upanisads and of the Prapañcasāra, to have mixed up Tāntrika rituals with Advaita Vedānta, and its adherents began gradually to replace Nṛsiṃha by Kṛṣṇa. But it seems possible that a section of its followers thought that māyāvāda vedānta and bhakti went ill together, and this led to the final supersession, at the instance of Vallabha of Nṛsiṃha by Bālagopāla and Viṣṇusvāmīn's māyā-bhakti Śuddhādvaita by the Śuddhādvaita of Vallabha which he calls Brahmavāda.¹

I might say in passing that the 'Prabodhasudhākara', another work wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara, appears to me to have been written either by the author of the two works just mentioned or by some other writer of the same school. The work abounds in erotic imageries which remind one of the Prapañcasāra Tantra, and also of Viṣṇusvāmīn's line Hlāḍīnyā samvidā-Ślistah Saccidānanda Īśvarah," while the same partiality for 'Sagunopāśanā' is noticeable in the two sections of the work, named, 'the twofold bhakti', and 'The unity of Saguṇa and the nirguṇa'. Again, in the brief summary of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā contained in the work, the epithet 'Nṛhari', which means both 'Nṛsiṃha' and 'puruṣottama',

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1. Inside Śaṅkara's school, however, the tradition of the Viṣṇusvāmīn branch continued for some time more, as will appear from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary on the Gītā and his 'Bhagavad-bhaktirasāyanam', from Viṣṇu Purī's Bhaktiratnāvalī, and from Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Mahābhārata. I have attempted to show elsewhere that Īśvara Purī, the Guru of Śrī Caitanya and Mādhavendra Purī, the Guru of Īśvara Purī belonged to this branch of the Śaṅkara sect.

is applied six times to Kṛṣṇa, no other epithet being used so often.¹

But if the identification of the author of the Prapañcasāra and the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya commentary with Viṣṇusvāmin is to hold good, it remains to be explained how the authorship of these works came to be attributed to Śaṅkara. The attention of the reader is invited to the second opening verse of the Sarva-darśanasamgraha, where Mādhava salutes his guru 'Sarvajña Viṣṇu':—

"Param gataṁ sakaladarśanasāgarānā-
Mātmocitārtha-caritārthita-Sarvalokam
Śrīśārṅgapānitanayaṁ nikhilāgamajñam
Sarvajña-Viṣṇugurumanvaha māśraye 'ham".

N. Venkataraman rightly identifies this Sarvajña Viṣṇu with Vidyā-Tīrtha or Vidyā-Śaṅkara Tīrtha², the great scholar and adept in tantras and mantras, whom both Mādhava and Sāyaṇa salute as their Guru, and whom Mādhava is said to have placed on the Śaṅkarācāryapīṭha at Śrīṅgeri. There is a magnificent commemoration building over his vesting place at Śrīṅgeri, constructed under the supervision of Bhāratī Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha. Mādhava, in the introduction to his Jaiminīya Nyāyamālā, thus refers to Vidyā-Śaṅkara's omniscience:—

"Vidyātīrthamunistadātmani lasanmūrti-stvanugrahikā
Tenāśya svagunairakhaṇḍitapadaṁ sārvañnamudyotate."

Let us remember also that Śrīdhara calls the commentator of Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya 'Sarvajña'. In the very first verse introducing that commentary, the commentator mentions that his

1. Then, again, the prose 'Uṇḍeśasāhasrī' might not unlikely have been a work of the same author. At para 18 of that work we find Brahman described as endowed with 'anantaśakti' and again with 'acintyaśakti' and it might be that Vallabha took his idea of Brahman's acintyaśaktitva' from this work, and this idea is responsible for the nomenclature of Jīva Gosvāmin's philosophy 'Acintyabhedābheda-vāda'.

2. Śaṅkarācārya the great and his followers at Kāñcī—p. 93,

Guru's name was the one by which this Upanisad was known, that is, 'Nṛsiṃha' :—

"Yannāmnopanīsatkhyātā tapanam taṁ vidhūṁ gurum
Prapāmyopāsanagarbhāṁ tad-vyākhyāṁ śraddhayā 'rabhe !"

We know from the Śrīṅgerī and Kāñcī Tables of Ācāryas that Vidyā-Śaṅkara was the disciple of Nṛsiṃha or Narasiṃha Tīrtha.² So it is clear beyond doubt that Vidyā-Śaṅkara was the author of this commentary, of the Prapañcasāra Tantra and possibly also of the 'Prabodha-Sudhākara' and the prose 'Upadeśa-sāhasrī.' The Śrīṅgerī chronology spreads Vidyā-Śaṅkara's pontificate at Śrīṅgerī over the period 1228-1333 A. D. which is unthinkable. There must have been gaps at both ends. All that one may safely hold is that he lived a long life covering a portion of the period 1200-1333 A. D. It looks possible that Visnusvāmin was his original Saṁnyāsin name, that Mādhava while retaining the epithet Sarvajña, abbreviates the full name, for the sake of the metre, into Visnu, and that he took the name Vidyā-Tīrtha or Vidyā-Śaṅkara Tīrtha on ascending the Śrīṅgerī pīṭha. We have already seen that, according to Bhandarkar, Visnusvāmin, the alleged founder of the so-called Rudra Sect of Vaisnavas also lived in the thirteenth century. Surely there could not possibly have been a plethora of Sarvajñas or Sarvajña Visnus in the thirteenth century A. D. For aught we know, the distinction has been rarely achieved.³ It appears certain, therefore, that Visnu-Svāmin and Vidyā-Śaṅkara were identical : and as he was a Śaṅkarācārya of the Śrīṅgerī Pīṭha, his works have come to be confused with the works of the great Śaṅkara. If all the works which pass current for works of Śaṅkara were critically studied, it might possibly turn out that they are the works of at least half a dozen authors. Vidyā-Śaṅkara is stated to be the author of the Vākya-

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1. It is strange that this verse hitherto escaped the attention of scholars.
 2. We get the same information from a Śrīṅgerī work, 'The Guru vaṁśa Kāvya by one Lakshmana Shastri, published by the Vāṇivilāsa Press, Srīrangam.
 3. We hear of Sarvajña Śaṅkara, Sarvajñātma muni, Sarvajña Viṣṇu-svāmin, Sarvajña Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka Bhāsarvajña and Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa, who wrote an annotation on the Mahābhārata.

bhāṣya on the Kena Upaniṣad.' In that commentary, differing from Śaṅkara, he interprets the expression, 'Brāhmi Upaniṣat' as 'Upaniṣad meant for Brahmans'. This partiality towards Brahmans is similar to the attitude which tradition ascribes to Viṣṇu-Svāmin, namely, that he would not admit into discipleship any one but a Brahman who would adopt Saṁnyāsa. I have also stated that Prajñānānanda Sarasvatī and the writer of the Bengali 'Viśvakośa' tell us that Viṣṇusvāmin wrote commentaries on the Vedas. No such Commentary has come down to us. As regards Sāyana's commentaries on the Vedas, it is said by some that they were the joint production of Mādhava and Sāyana. Sāyana himself, however, repeats in the commentaries that they were composed under the patronage of King Bukka and the inspiration of Vidyā-Tīrtha. That Vidyā-Śaṅkara or Vidyā-Tīrtha] was a great adept in the Vedas would appear from the following identical reference to him in Sāyana's commentaries and also in Mādhava's 'Jīvanmuktiviveka':—

"Yasya niḥśvasitam vedā yo vedebyho'kḥilam jagat
Nirmame tamaham vande Vidyātīrthamaheśvaram".

Vidyā-Śaṅkara might have had some hand in the composition of the commentaries in Sāyana's name, and that might be the only truth behind the tradition about Viṣṇusvāmin's authorship of commentaries on the Vedas. Some of Viṣṇusvāmin's sayings were called 'Sarvajña-sūkti'. It is not strange that the sayings of one whose exhalation was the Vedas should be called 'sūkti' in imitation of the Vedic 'Sūktas'.

Vilvamangala, the author of the 'Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛtam', is held by some to have been an ascetic of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect. A Govinda Wariyar, however, says that the Vilvamangalas were all Ācāryas of one of the two Śaṅkarite *Madhoms* at Trichur.² He says that there were three Ācāryas of this name known to have been authors, and he fixes them for the 9th, the 13th and the 17th centuries respectively. He says that the first of these Vilva-

1. Mahāmahopādhyāya Shridharshastrī Pathak in the Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, Vol I. p. XCIX.

2. See 'Vilvamaṅgala Svāmīars'. I. H. Q., June, 1931.

maṅgalas was the author of the 'Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛtam'. K. Rama Pisharoti is of the same opinion.¹ The seventeenth century Vilva-maṅgala could not possibly have written the 'Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam' which was a favourite work of Śrī Caitanyadeva, but I do not think that the author could have lived in the 9th century. A. Govinda Wariyar bases his conclusion on the fact that the author of the 'Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam' in his gloss on a work of Śaṅkara, - Wariyar does not give us the name of this work, - calls himself a pupil of Padmapāda, and he takes this Padmapāda as identical with Śaṅkara's first disciple of the same name. The author of the 'Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam' in the very first verse tells us that his Guru was one Somagiri, but he also mentions that he had Śikṣāgurus', and if one Padmapāda were his 'Vidyāguru', it does not necessarily follow that he would be identical with Śaṅkara's illustrious disciple, Padmapāda. There is a tikā on the Prapañcasāra tantra by one Padmapāda, and people identifying him with Śaṅkara's disciple, Padmapāda, ascribe the authorship of the tantra to Śaṅkara. But we have proved it beyond cavil that the author of the Prapañcasāra was Vidyā-śaṅkara. Who then was this Padmapāda, who commented on the Prapañcasāra? The Śringerī chronology mentions no Ācārya of this name. But we have a valuable piece of information supplied by the 'Madhva-vijaya' by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, being the traditional biography of Madhvācārya. We learn from that work that Madhva had a dialectical contest with a great Advaitin monk, whom the author with abominable taste, calls 'Samkara'. Both C. N. Krishnaswami Iyer and C. M. Padmanabh Achar identify this monk with Vidyā-śaṅkara. The Madhva-vijaya relates another encounter of Madhva with the Śringerī monk, Padmatīrtha after Vidyā-śaṅkara's death. As we have said before, the Śringerī chronology does not mention this Padmatīrtha, but the very fact that it allots the unconscionable long period of one hundred and five years Ācāryaship to Vidyāśaṅkara would tend to show that there are some gaps in this chronology and, relying on the account of the 'Madhva-vijaya', we may hold that Padmatīrtha came between Vidyā-śaṅkara and Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha, who is named in the Śringerī table immediately after Vidyāśaṅkara. It seems likely that

1. See 'Kulaśekhara in Kerala- Ibid-.

this Padmatīrtha was the Padmapāda who commented on the 'Prapañcasāra', and who was also the teacher of Vilvamaṅgala. It is possible to trace the erotic emotionalism of the 'Kṛṣṇakārnāmrtaṃ' to the author of works like the 'Prapañcasāra' and 'Prabodhasudhākara' but not to the great Śaṃkara or to his disciple Padmapāda. As a result of the present discussion, those who say that Vilvamaṅgala was a Śaṃkarite Saṃnyāsin and those who attach him to the Viṣṇusvāmin sect would be equally truthful.

It would appear as if Vidyā-Śaṃkara and his disciples re-enacted the drama of Śaṃkara's life. He was like Śaṃkara, considered an avatāra of Maheśvara, and his works are passing for Śaṃkara's works. One of his followers, commenting on his Prapañcasāra has come to pass for Śaṃkara's disciple, Padmapāda, and was actually named Padma Tīrtha; another follower of his wrote a Vārttika on his Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya commentary and called it the 'Sākārasiddhi' in imitation of the Vārttikakāra Sureśvara's works such as 'Naiṣkarmyasiddhi' and 'Svārājya-siddhi'.

To sum up. The conclusion to which I am led by an examination of the available materials is that the tradition about the existence of a Rudra Sect of Vaisnavas before Vallabha and about Viṣṇusvāmin having been the founder or chief teacher thereof is a semi-myth and that Viṣṇusvāmin, as matter of fact, was the same person as Vidyāśaṃkara, the guru of Mādhava and Śāyana. Yajñeśvara's statement in the 'Āryavidyāsudhākara' that the Viṣṇusvāmin sect become extinct no sooner than it had come into existence and was revived, later on, by the genius of Vallabha would also bear me out. The merging of Viṣṇusvāmin into Vidyā-Śaṃkara on the one hand, and the ascendancy of Vallabha on the other, are the real reasons why we know so little about Viṣṇusvāmin.

Yajñeśvara has culled his information about Viṣṇusvāmin from a work of the Vallabhācārya sect, namely the 'Sampradāya-pradīpa', written by one Gadādhara Dvivedin, a devoted follower

of Vitthalanatha, one of the sons of Vallabha.¹ The work exists only in manuscript, and my attempt to get a transcript of the portion of it which relates to Visnusvāmin has not yet succeeded. One does not really know whether it contains anything more than what Yajñeśvara has borrowed from it; nor should one be surprised if it gives a fictitious account of Visnusvāmin similar to the one given in the Vārttikatilaka on the Bhaktamāla. In any case, no serious critic would think of attaching greater importance to an avowedly sectarian work, than to evidence derivable from independent sources.

Here ends my attempt to weave a history of Visnusvāmin out of the very scanty available yarn. An unbiassed pursuit of the present clue might unearth more details about him. That he has become quite a riddle to the historian of Indian Philosophy and Religion is due, not to his hoary antiquity, as supposed by some, but to the fact that the search for him has not been conducted in right quarter, tradition having been relied on to a greater extent than is permissible in historical investigation.

That I have taken a lot of pains over the history of this teacher is due to the fact that a study of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature has led me to the belief that if one is to trace the origin of the peculiar cult of *bhakti*, - tinged with erotic emotionalism, - of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, he will have to look, for the intermediate stages of development, to works like the commentary on the Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpaniya Upaniṣad, the Prapañcasāra Tantra, the Prabodhasudhākara, the Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛtam and Śrīdhara's Commentaries, rather than to the literature of the recognised Vaiṣṇava Sects. The history of the Caitanya Sect has hitherto been wrongly written. But that is another story :

1. The name of the author has been supplied by Prof. G. H. Bhatt of the Baroda College.

II

After the original paper had been given at the meeting of the Sanskrit-Bengali Association of the Dacca University, a kind friend of mine¹ brought to my notice certain matters relating to the subject, for which I am extremely thankful to him. He first pointed out that Aufrecht in his *Catalogue*, Vol. I, P. 402 B, mentioned the existence of a manuscript of a *tīkā* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by Viṣṇusvāmin among the collection of manuscripts owned by the Government Sanskrit College at Benares. On inquiry, however, I have been able to ascertain through the kindness of Principal Gopinath Kaviraj and of a friend of mine, now staying at Benares,² that the manuscript referred to by Aufrecht, viz. No 226 of the Collection, is really one of the 'Subodhini *tīkā* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, by Vallabhācārya, and that there is not in existence, among the Benares Government Sanskrit College Collection, any manuscript of any work by Viṣṇusvāmin. Aufrecht has simply copied the mistake of author of the *Catalogue* of manuscripts of the Government Sanskrit College.

The next thing pointed out to me was a brief account of Viṣṇusvāmin in Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 119-20. It appeared on a perusal of the same, that Prajñānānanda Sarasvati and the writer of the note on Vallabhācārya in the *Bengali Viśvakosa* had both borrowed their account of Viṣṇusvāmin from this work. The only additional matter Wilson mentions is a tradition about Viṣṇusvāmin having been the fifteenth in apostolic succession from the God, Viṣṇu. This appears to be a variation of the silly tradition referred to in the *Rājavārttika tīkā* on the *Hindī Bhaktamāla*, and the discrepancy between the two accounts only proves the unreliability of the whole tradition. Wilson, unfortunately, does not mention the authorities from which he had gleaned his information about Viṣṇusvāmin.

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1. Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerji, M. A., keeper of Manuscripts, University of Dacca.
 2. Babu Manmathanath Chatterji, at present of 56/2, Lakṣmīkuṇḍa Benares.

The third thing pointed out to me by the same kind friend was an account of three manuscripts of the 'Sampradāya-Pradīpa' by Gadādhara, referred to in the original paper, in H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. IV.¹ The manuscripts mention that Viṣṇu-svāmin was the son of the minister of a Dravidian Chief, and that he was born early in the Kali era, which is nonsense, because the writer says that Viṣṇusvāmin preached the 'Śrī-Gopījana-vallabhākhyā tattva' and harmonised all Śāstras with the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. It is further said that Vīlvamaṅgala, author of the Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛtam, belonged to the Viṣṇusvāmin Sect, and that he inspired Vallabha, in a dream, to preach the Bālagopāla cult. The work was composed in the year 1554 A. D.

The same Catalogue (p 95), contains an account of a biography of Vallabha, named the 'Caritracintāmaṇi' by one 'Devakīnandana'. It is stated by this author that all the four Vaisnava Ācāryas, - Rāmānuja, Madhva Viṣṇusvāmin and Nimbārka, - incarnated in order to undo the mischief done by Śaṅkara's preaching of the Māyāvāda. This positively disproves Viṣṇusvāmin having incarnated early in the Kali era.

The Catalogue (pages 106-7) contains an account of 'Vaisnava vārttāmālā' by one Śrīnātha Deveśa, from which we learn that Vallabhācārya's great grandfather, Yajñanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was a follower of the Viṣṇusvāmin Cult. So it appears that Vallabha was rather remotely connected with this cult and did not find it difficult to break away from it and preach a new doctrine.

I have stated in the original paper that Īśvara Purī and Mādhavendra Purī, the teacher and teacher's teacher respectively, of Śrī Caitanyadeva, appeared to have been ascetics of the Viṣṇusvāmin branch of the Śaṅkara Sect, and that the erotic emotionalism of the Bengal School of Vaisnavism must have developed from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa through the Viṣṇusvāmin Literature. These statements are borne out by the 'Sampradāya-pradīpa', for Gadādhara, who wrote only twentyone years after

1. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV (History and Geography), pp. 97-106,

the death of Śrī Caitanya, mentions, that the Caitanya sect was a sub-sect (upasampradāya) of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect.

III.

The foregoing paper was sent to Professor M. Hiriyanna of the Mysore University for favour of his opinion, and that erudite Professor, while holding that the conclusion I had attempted to reach appeared to be quite plausible, very kindly pointed out certain difficulties, which I propose to deal with in this place.

(1) He first says that the terms in which the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha refers to Viṣṇusvāmin (Viṣṇusvāmin-matānusāribhiḥ) seem to indicate that Viṣṇusvāmin was regarded as a fairly old writer at the time. To this it may be said that an eminent teacher does not take a long time to found a school. Viṣṇusvāmin appears to have lived long, and everybody knows that the great Śaṅkara founded a School even during his very short life-time. It may further be pointed out that the Sarvajña Viṣṇu referred to by Mādhava in his second prefatory verse appears to be no other than Viṣṇusvāmin.

(2) The learned professor next points out that there is in the Mysore Government Oriental Library an unpublished Commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras by one Cinmaya Muni, a writer who appears to have lived in the 18th Century, and that the writer says in the prefatory Stanza that he simply elucidates the Commentary by one Viṣṇu, who was possibly no other than Viṣṇusvāmin. Professor Hiriyanna has not read Cinmaya's Commentary but says that according to a note on it by the Library authorities, it advocates the Bhedābheda-vāda. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur Professor B. Venkatesachar of Bangalore who has, since this note was written, examined 'Cinmaya's Commentary. He tells me that the library note is incorrect and that Cinmaya is an Advaitin of the Śaṅkara type. If the Viṣṇu whom he follows is Viṣṇusvāmin, that would only support my hypothesis.

THE DATE OF THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

BY

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I

The date of the *Śrī Bhāgavata* is admittedly one of the many intriguing of textual problems of Oriental Research. The astonishing uncertainty concerning its date would seem to be hardly consistent with the unrivalled popularity which this Purāṇa has always enjoyed. But this is a feature so common with reference to works and authors in Indian history that we have little reason to be surprised at it. Thanks, however, to the increased application of scientific methods of research to the study of indigenous texts, there is every possibility of our stabilizing one much - neglected aspect of our history and literature.

The unsettled nature of the chronology of the *Bhāgavata* has given rise to a number of varied and amusing theories propounded by pioneers and protagonists. Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf placed the Purāṇa in the 13th century. Winternitz took a more sympathetic view of the *Bhāgavata* and thought that "in any case, the work cannot be so late as that" and was pleased to date it about the 10th century A. D. in consonance with the views of C. V. Vaidya whose date for the *Bhāgavata* is the earliest so far claimed by anybody.¹

The theory of Bopadeva's authorship of the *Bhāgavata* was at one time fashionable² especially among ultra-reformers. This

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1. Except for the opinions of Pargitar, Farquhar and Radhakrishnan who assert that the Purāṇa belongs to about 900 A. D. but have not cared to substantiate their opinions in any manner.
 2. "I am myself inclined to adopt an opinion supported by many learned Hindus who consider the celebrated *Śrī Bhāgavata* as the work of a grammarian Bopadeva supposed to have lived about 600 years ago" — Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii, p. 467 (Wilson ; Preface, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*).

theory was never seriously countenanced in learned circles; but had its own advocates among extremists. We need only refer to Svāmi Dayānand Sarasvatī, the leader of this extremist school, who fondly believed in Bopadeva's authorship of the *Purāṇa* and assigned it accordingly to the 13th century.—

और यह भागवत बोपदेव का बनाया है जिसके भाई जयदेव ने गीतगोविन्द बनाया है। देखो। उसने यह श्लोक अपने बनाये “हिमाद्रि” नामक ग्रन्थमें लिखा है कि श्रीमद्भागवत पुराण मैं ने बनाया। उसलेख के तीन पत्र हमारे पास थे। उन्हें से एक पत्र खोगया है। उसपत्र में श्लोकों का जो आशय था उसको हमने दो श्लोक बना के नीचे लिखे हैं। जिसको देखना हो वह हिमाद्रि ग्रन्थमें देख लें। हिमाद्रेः सचिव-स्यार्थे सूचना क्रियतेऽधुना - श्रीमद्भागवतं नाम पुराणं च मयेरितं विदुषा बोपदेवेन श्रीकृष्णस्य यशोन्वितं ॥

The Svāmiji's theory needs no elaborate refutation since no scholar with any reputation to lose would now think of upholding such a view. As professor Winternitz rightly remarks, “this supposition seems to rest only on the fact that Bopadeva is the author of the *Muktāphala* a work dependent on the *Bhāgavata* and of the *Harilīlā* an Anukramanī (index) to the *Bhāgavata*.” Apart from the powerful textual evidences to be indicated in the following pages—which would amply disprove this silly theory and establish the existence of the *Bhāgavata* long before either Bopadeva or even his grandfather could have seen the light, it deserves to be noted that the *Harilīlā* of Bopadeva not only lacks any evidence in support of Bopadeva's authorship of the *Purāṇa* but, what is more, also contains statements which clearly presuppose the prior existence of the *Purāṇa* :—

आनन्दस्य हरेर्लीला वक्ता भागवतागमः

स्कन्धैर्द्वादशभिः शाखाः प्रतन्वन्दिजसेविताः

1. The Svāmiji continues unblushingly :— इसी प्रकार बोपदेव पण्डितने बनाकर, हिमाद्रि सचिवको दिया। जो बिस्त देखना चाहे वह बोपदेवके बनाये “हिमाद्रि” ग्रन्थमें देख लेवे ॥ pp. 218-19 *Satyārtha Prakāśa* Hindi Edn. Ajmer 1930. The Svāmiji, it will be seen, pretends to quote from a work called *Himādrī* by Bopadeva whom he further styles a brother of Jayadeva!! No work of Bopadeva entitled *Himādrī* has however been known! And the feigned quotations given from Bopadeva's *Sūci* (p. 219) are flatly opposed to the statement in the *Harilīlā* of the genuine Bopadeva.

इतीदं द्वादशस्कन्धं पुराणं ब्रह्मसंमितम्¹ ।

इति भागवतस्यानुक्रमणी रमणीकृता ।

विदुषा बोपदेवेन भिषक्केशवसूनुना ॥

We shall not therefore, waste any more time in refuting this stupid theory.

Quite apart from the foregoing theory, the 13th century was suggested as a suitable date for the Purāṇa by other scholars like Macdonell. Still, it cannot be maintained for a host of reasons.

Mr. C. V. Vaidya, so far as I can see, was the first to attempt to controvert this general but unsubstantiated belief among scholars. His own conclusion is indicated at great length in the course of a brilliant article published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1925, vol. i; wherein Mr. Vaidya's lower limit of the 10th century A. D. is arrived at by arguing backwards from Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* where the cult of Rādhā plays a prominent part while the same is totally absent in the *Bhāgavata*. While I entirely agree with Mr. Vaidya's contention that the Purāṇa must be far earlier than the 13th century, I cannot either accept his conclusion that it belongs to the 10th century or his argument in that direction. I am fully persuaded that our Purāṇa is far earlier than Mr. Vaidya suspects. Mr. Vaidya has mostly relied on specious reasonings and feeble data and has nowhere tried to adduce sound external textual testimony in support of his contentions. For instance, he is "tolerably certain that the *Bhāgavata* precedes Madhva²" not because the latter is the author of a well-known commentary on the *Bhāgavata* and makes numerous citations from it; but, because "on a general survey of the *Bhāgavata* one cannot doubt that the Vaisṇavism of *Bhāgavata* is neither influenced by nor akin to the Vaisṇavism of Madhva³"

1. *Harikālā*, Calcutta Oriental Series No. 3 with Commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 153.

3. J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 152.

Again, the *Bhāgavata* is later than Śaṅkara not because Mr. Vaidya could say that Śaṅkara makes no reference to it¹ or show that it could not have been known earlier than Śaṅkara; but simply because (i) it treats of Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu which *could not have happened* till a long time after Śaṅkara and (ii) of its "representation of Kapila as an incarnation of Viṣṇu which Śaṅkara *refutes*"²! (Italics mine). It is to be feared, that arguments such as these are purely *ex cathedra* and have no foundation on facts. Mr. Vaidya would have done better to have taken his stand on the *terra firma* of sound external textual evidences alone as having a decisive value in virtue of their being next only to epigraphic evidence in importance.

Madhva's thorough familiarity with the Purāṇa, his unbounded admiration for it, his having written a critical commentary on it and his numerous quotations from it would be enough to utterly discredit the once fashionable theory of Bopadeva's authorship still lurking in some quarters and the consequent ascription of the Purāṇa to the 13th century; as well as the unsubstantiated, but die-hard belief of some Orientalists in such a date quite apart from Bopadeva's authorship. Madhva, who lived between 1238-1317 A. D., was an elder contemporary of Hemādri³ who is believed to have lived between 1260-1309 A. D., to whose court Bopadeva was attached. It is clear, therefore, that Madhva would have paid scant respect to the *Bhāgavata* had it been a work of Bopadeva written in his (Madhva's) own lifetime! From another source we learn that the Purāṇa was extant and widely popular during Madhva's times. It will be interesting information that there were known several 'recensions' of the text also in Madhva's times! Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, the biographer and the son of a direct disciple of Madhva, who lived about 1350 records in his Life of Madhva, an incident that once in his boyhood,

1. A reference to the *Bhāgavata* is made in the *Sarva Siddhānta Saṁgraha* attributed to Śaṅkara (Madras, 1909). For a repudiation of Śaṅkara's authorship of this work see the present writer's Note on the Authorship of the *Sarva Siddhānta Saṁgraha* published in the *Annals of the B. O. R. I., Poona*, Vol. XII, pp. 93-96.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 153.

3. Not *Himādri* as Svāmi Dayānanda has him!

4 [*Annals, B. O. R. I.*]

the Ācārya gave out in an assembly, a certain reading as the correct text of the Purāna which was disputed by the other members. When challenged to cite some other passage (*gadya*) in the chapter, according to the correct text, the Ācārya did so; and on examination of a number of manuscripts, the passage was found in one of them.¹ This episode simply illustrates the wide popularity enjoyed by the Purāna the creeping in of different readings of the text if not also the existence of distinct 'recensions' of the text already in the beginning of the 13th century. That it is much earlier than the 13th century is made clear by a quotation from *Nārāyaṇa Aṣṭākṣara Kalpa* given by Madhva, in his commentary on the *Gītā* wherein mention is made of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as a work of Vyāsa:—

वेदादपि परं चक्रे पञ्चमं वेदमुत्तमं
भारतं पञ्चरात्रं च मूलरामायणं तथा ।
पुराणं भागवतं चेति संभिन्नः इवः
(इति नारायणाष्टाक्षरकल्पे)

Another quotation from the *Nārāḍīya* speaks of the *Bhāgavata* as one of the Viṣṇu-Vedas:—

पञ्चरात्रं भारतं च मूलरामायणं तथा ।
तथा पुराणं भागवतं विष्णुवेद इतीरितः ॥

II

Notwithstanding the limitations of an *argumentum ex silentio* the masterly silence of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja about the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has to be satisfactorily accounted for by every one who prefers a date much earlier than both these philosophers, for the *Bhāgavata*. But it should be remembered that no thoroughly satisfactory reason could be given in such complicated cases where a celebrated writer says no word about a great work which

1. गुरोरुपान्ते श्रवणेनैर्द्विजैः संपञ्चवैर्भागवते कदाचन ।

बहु प्रकारे लिखिते तु वाचिते प्रकारमेकं प्रभुरभ्यधाद्दृढम् ॥

* * * *

अशेषशिष्यैश्च तदाज्ञयां तदा परीक्षणाद्यैश्चि समस्तपुस्तकं ।

स तत्र हन्तैकतमे स्थितं त्यजन्तं तावद्ध्यायूँनिकायमभ्यधात् ॥

Madhva Vijaya - IV, 49-52.

is otherwise known to have existed in his days. The reason would lie primarily in the sheer caprice of the writer and only secondarily in other considerations. To cite but a few instances: Hiouen Tsang, the Buddhist Monk who came to India on a cultural mission, translated not the well-known *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* of Kanāda but Guṇacandra's text-book on the Vaiśeṣika system! Again, the same writer mentions a number of Nyāya works but entirely omits to mention the *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama! His own forte being Yoga, he mentions a number of works on Yoga-Śāstra but, curiously enough, makes no mention of the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali!¹

Whatever the reason for Śaṅkara's indifference² to the Purāṇa, the silence of such a staunch Vaisnava philosopher like Rāmānuja over a Purāṇa which espouses the cause of Vaisnavism in a special manner is claimed to be really suspicious. Though, few scholars to-day would go to the extent of denying that the *Bhāgavata* existed prior to Rāmānuja, yet, there seems to be a general acquiescence in the view of his unfamiliarity with the work. It will be useful therefore, to note a few quotations from the *Bhāgavata* in the *Vedānta-Tattva-sāra*, a work attributed to Rāmānuja for what they are worth. Apart from the prejudice of fashionable belief, there is nothing to disprove Rāmānuja's authorship of this work, so far as I can see :—

वेदान्तसूत्रकारोपि स्वयोगमहिम्ना इदमेव निश्चितमाह श्रीभागवतः—

भक्तियोगेन मनसि सम्यक् प्राणिहितेऽमले ।

अपश्यत्पुरुषं पूर्णं मायां तु तदुपाश्रयाम् ॥

यया संमोहितो जीवः आत्मानं त्रिगुणात्मकं ।

परोपि मनुतेऽनर्थं तत्कृतं चाभिपश्यते ॥

1. Max Müller, *Six Systems*.

2. Wilson's statement (Preface: Visṇu Purāṇa) that the *Bhāgavata* was cited as an authority and made the subject of comment by Śaṅkara is infinitely amusing. His explanation that "the existence of this comment rests upon the authority of Mādhva or Mādhava" is worse. The Professor is evidently having in mind Madhva who, however, is not guilty of any of the statements attributed to him; and a commentary on *Bhāgavata* by the real Mādhava = Vidyāranya is practically unknown.

अनर्थोपशमं साक्षाद्वक्तियोगमधोक्षजे ।

लोकस्याजानतो विद्वांश्चक्रे सात्वतसंहिताम् ॥ ४

‘अष्टादश्रुताद्भावान्न भाव उपजायते’ इत्येकादशे भगवद्वचनात् ॥ २

किं च, ‘मुक्तिर्हित्वान्यथारूपं स्वरूपेण व्यवस्थितिः’ ३ इत्यनुसारेण ॥

तथा च वेदस्तुतौ ४—

बुद्धीन्द्रियमनः प्राणान् जनानाममृतप्रभुः ।

मात्रार्थं च भवार्थं च आत्मने कल्पनाय च ॥ ५

Rāmānuja's silence about the Purāna in his other works—the *Śrī Bhāṣya* and the *Gītā Bhāṣya* may require a word of explanation. The evidences to be adduced presently, would conclusively prove the existence of the *Bhāgavata* many centuries before Rāmānuja. Such being the case, the reasons for Rāmānuja's silence over the work in his major works, must be sought elsewhere than in the theory of either its non-existence or his unwillingness yet to recognise it as an authority.⁶ It would have been noted by all those familiar with the *Śrī Bhāṣya* and the *Gītā Bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja that he accords the first place of honor to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and cites his texts mostly from that Purāna. Sudarśana Sūri, the classical commentator on the *Śrī Bhāṣya*, in one place, sums up the reasons for Rāmānuja's 'partiality' to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which explains fully, his seeming indifference to the *Bhāgavata*⁷—

एवं प्रसिद्ध्यातिशयलब्धसजातीयप्रबन्धातिशयत्वात्, तत एव नष्टकोशत्वाभावात्, अतिविस्तृततया प्रक्षेपशङ्कारहितत्वात्, अन्यपरोक्तिसिद्धपरिग्रहातिशयवत्वात्, सामान्य-प्रश्नपूर्वप्रतिवचनरूपत्वेन अनाग्रहसुलभत्वात्, अत एव ईदृशवैलक्षण्यरहित, करणदोष, बाधकप्रत्यय स्वव्याहृतिमत्प्रबन्धान्तराणां एतद्विरोधे सति दौर्बल्यस्यावर्जनीयत्वाच्च श्रीमद्वैष्णवं इदं पुराणं प्रमाणतमम् ॥

1. *Vedānta Tattva Sāra*, of Rāmānuja, Pāṇḍit, Reprints, p. 29.

2. Op., cit., p. 37.

3. Op., cit., p. 50.

4. Op., cit., p. 54.

5. *Bhāgavata*, X, 87, 2,

6. Cf. Prof. Winternitz's remarks in this connection (to be quoted anon).

7. *Śrūta Prakāśa* of Sudarśana, p. 413, Medical Hall Press. Benares, 1889.

Such is the real reason for Rāmānuja's 'partiality' to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and his non-reference to the *Bhāgavata* — whose metaphysical standpoint besides, is identical with that of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; so that, Rāmānuja refrained, most sensibly, from unnecessarily multiplying texts in support of his position; for, his non-citation from *Bhāgavata* would not, in the least, have jeopardised his interpretations. Prof. Winternitz is, therefore, entirely ignorant of the real reason when he writes that Rāmānuja, in the twelfth century, did not yet recognise it as an authority¹; for, he does not mention it and *alludes* only to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.' To be sure, Rāmānuja not merely "alludes" to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* but quotes at every step from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the learned Professor's statement seems to me to be simply misleading. However that may be, the Professor's instantaneous conclusion from Rāmānuja's silence about the *Bhāgavata* that he "did not yet recognise it as an authority" is entirely unwarranted. The Professor would do well to remember that writers of the eminence of Rāmānuja are under no obligation to quote every work that they recognise as authoritative. To mention but one telling instance, Madhva recognises the *Mūlarāmāyaṇa*, (a work distinct from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*,) as highly authoritative²; but, so far as I have seen, Madhva has nowhere cited passages from this work! An indirect piece of evidence testifying to Rāmānuja's acquaintance with the *Bhāgavata* may be noted. In his *Vedārtha Saṁgraha*, Rāmānuja speaks of the three-fold classification³ of Purāṇas as Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa. A well-known passage in the *Padma Purāṇa* speaks of the *Bhāgavata* as one of the six

1. Winternitz; *History of Indian Literature* (Tr), p. 556.

2. कस्यञ्चुः सामाथर्वाश्च घुलरामायणं तथा
भारतं पञ्चरात्रं च शास्त्रमित्यभिधीयते-

3. यथाकृतं मास्त्ये :- संकीर्णसात्विकाश्चैव राजसास्तामसान्तथा इति.
× × × × × तत्तत्कल्पोक्तपुराणेषु सत्त्वाद्युणमयेन ब्रह्मणा क्रियत इति चोक्तं ॥
Vedārtha Saṁgraha, Pandit Reprints, p. 156.

Sāttvika Purāṇas.¹ Fortunately, a list of Purāṇas in the *Matsya*.² (which is relied upon by Rāmānuja himself in setting forth a threefold classification of the Purāṇas) includes the *Bhāgavata* too. All this would tend to show that the *Bhāgavata* could not have been unknown to and unrecognised by Rāmānuja.

III.

We shall now proceed to note one important external textual evidence which unmistakably proves the existence of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* much earlier than the 10th century — the date, or, more precisely, the lower limit proposed by Mr. Vaidya.

Abhinavagupta, the well-known exponent of the *Dhvani* school and the illustrious champion of the *Pratyabhijñā* school of Kashmir Śaivism, who flourished towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, was intimately acquainted with our Purāṇa to which he refers by name³ and quotes a few passages in the course of his arresting gloss on the *Gītā** :—

1. वैष्णवं नारदीयं च तथा भागवतं परम्
गारुडं च तथा पाद्मं वाराहं शोभनं स्मृतं
सान्त्विकानि पुराणानि शोभनानि ह्युभयाने ॥
2. *Matsya Purāṇa* chap. 53. verses 20-22. The *Matsya* further specifies the extent of the *Bhāgavata* as 18000 ślokas which agrees well with facts.
3. Abhinavagupta's pointed citations from the 'Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*' also show that the claims of the *Devī Bhāgavata* to be called 'Bhāgavata' advocated by some and referred to by Mr. Vaidya (p. 145) are spurious since a disinterested scholar of the type of Abhinava clearly understands the 'Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*' alone by the term *Bhāgavata*! Mr Vaidya's statement on the definition of the *Bhāgavata* given in *Matsya* (ch 53) :

यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्री वर्ण्यते धर्मविस्तरः वृत्रासुरवधो यत्र तद्भागवतमुच्यते ॥

that "the first line does not apply to this Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*" (p. 145) is equally unsound. Śrīdhara, in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata* quotes these very passages from the *Matsya* and shows their application to 'this Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*'. Madhva, in his *Bhāgavata Tātparyā* writes :— गायत्रीभाष्यरूपोऽसौ वेदार्थमरिबुद्धिः ॥ The opening verse of the *Devībhāgavata* is a base and clumsy attempt to embody the Gāyatrī mantra and metre into itself and cannot stand comparison with the grandeur of the opening verse of our *Bhāgavata*.

4. Abhinava's *Gītā Vyākhyā*, p. 594, Nirnayasagar, Bombay.

यथा वा श्रीमद्भागवते —

निद्रया द्वियते नक्तं व्यवायेन च वा वयः ।

दिवाचार्थेहया राजन् कुटुम्बभरणेन वा ॥

देहापत्यकलत्रादिष्वात्मसैन्येष्वसत्स्वपि ।

तेषां प्रमत्तो निधनं पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ॥ (Bhāg. II, 1, 3-4).

तत्रैव एकादशस्कन्धे आत्महत्याशब्दवाच्यो निर्णीतो भगवता,

यथा :-

नृदेहमाद्यं सुलभं सुदुर्लभं ।

प्लवं सुकल्पं शुरुकर्णधारं ।

मयानुकूलेन नभस्वतेरितं

युमान्भवाब्धिं न तरेत्स आत्महा ॥ इति ॥ (Bhāg. XI, 20, 17).

Abhinavagupta having flourished in the 10th century, it needs no great ingenuity to show that the Purāṇa must have been composed at least some centuries earlier to have acquired such a profound esteem. Many scholars,¹ including Mr. Vaidya himself (p. 157), are wedded to the belief that the author of the *Bhāgavata* was a South Indian and that the Purāṇa must have originated in the extreme South (presumably on the banks of the Tāmraparni to which reference is made by the author of the Purāṇa!). It would be impossible in that case, to deny that at least a few centuries must have elapsed before a South Indian composition like that — (especially a Purāṇic work which, besides, covered no new ground) could have won its way to the extremity of the North (Kashmir) and secured unquestioned authority in the 10th century! It is no use trying to mince matters and deny the 'Visnuite' tenor of the Purāṇa. We have already seen that the author of the *Śrūta Prakāśa* hints that this was exactly one of the reasons why Rāmānuja did not want to use it viz; to avoid looking overmuch sectarian. The Vaisṇavite tenor of the Purāṇa being thus undeniable, it follows that but for the tremendous popularity of the Purāṇa in the North about the 10th century A. D., Abhinavagupta would not have cared to cite it for his own

1. Vide — 'Domicile of the Author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa', Amarnath Ray, I. H. Q., March 1932, pp. 49-53.

purposes especially in the face of his avowed Śaivite predilections and his authoritative connection with a vigorous system of Śaiva philosophy ! It would scarcely improve matters to argue that Abhinava was not a bigot. Bigotry or no bigotry, Abhinava could have had no soft corner in his heart for the :

यत्पादनिःसृतसरित्प्रवरोदकेन

तथैव सृष्टिनिवृत्तेन शिवः शिवोऽसृष्ट । of the *Bhāgavata* not to speak of : वैष्णवानां यथा शंभुः towards the close ; and if, in spite of the persistent provocation which that Purāṇa must give to every ardent Śaiva, Abhinava felt obliged, for whatever reason, to quote it, it must be the irresistible popularity alone of the work that could have goaded him to do so. Another interesting reference by Abhinava to the Gajendra Moksa episode : गजेन्द्रमोक्षणादीनि हि चरितानि परम-कारुणिकस्य भगवतः सहस्रशः श्रूयन्ते ॥ clearly shows that he must have swallowed the lavish praise of Viṣṇu which that episode contains to the exclusion, nay, derision, of all other deities :—

एवं गजेन्द्रमुपवर्णितानि विशेषं

ब्रह्मादयो विविधलिङ्गभिदाभिमानाः ।

नैते यदोपसृष्टुर्निखिलात्मकत्वा-

त्तत्राखिलामरवरो हरिराविरासीत् ॥ (viii, 3, 30).

These and other considerations compel us to conclude that the popularity enjoyed by the *Bhāgavata* in N. India, in the 10th century was simply irresistible, — that the time had come when it could no longer be ignored by the *noblesse* of scholars whatever their sectarian sympathies and mental reservations. I submit, once again, that such a wonderful eminence could not have been attained within any short period of time and that this fact alone compels us to date its composition necessarily a few centuries earlier allowing a reasonable period of two centuries or so far its gradual migration from the extreme South and its spread in the North.

Another allied consideration also lends great support to this suggestion. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was quite well-known to Alberuni who was in India in about 1030 A. D. and who records its name among the 18 Purāṇas read out to him from another list

in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.¹ It is needless to comment further on the value and validity of such a matchless piece of external testimony which *compels* us to date the Purāna a few centuries earlier. Surely, the composition of the Purāna, its mention in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, its quotation by Abhinava and mention by Alberuni could not all of them be placed, most bureaucratically, in the 10th century itself as Mr. Vaidya's theory would oblige us to do. I therefore plead for a more charitable interval of breathing-space for the Purāna.

IV

Mr. Vaidya, however, is adamant in holding the *Bhāgavata* to be distinctly posterior to Śamkara and unless this lower limit of his is shown to be untenable, we cannot safely ask for a time-limit of two to three centuries before the 10th for the composition, spread and prestige of the *Bhāgavata*. We shall, therefore, devote our attention, now, to an examination of the thesis of the Post-Śamkarite origin of the Purāna maintained by Mr. Vaidya. As already remarked, this thesis rests wholly on ambiguous and questionable hypotheses and on the theorist's taking his stand on mythopoetic beliefs and philosophical doctrines dealt with in the *Bhāgavata*. It is to be feared that no conclusive argument can be based on such colorless testimony. It is very difficult to fix the date of the origin of mytho-poetic beliefs and philosophical doctrines with anything like certainty or say when exactly they came to be crystallised into definite views and it would be hazardous to base chronological researches on such elusive testimony.

But, to proceed. Mr. Vaidya declares that the appearance of the Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu in the *Bhāgavata* points to a date long after Śamkara, since it is after the final overthrow of Bud-

1. "Another somewhat different list of Purāṇas has been read to me from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. I give it here *in extenso*.....
Brāhma, Pādma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhāgavata i. e. Vāsudeva"
 p. 131, Alberuni's *India*, Sachau, Trübner. 1914. The juxtaposition of the term Vāsudeva with reference to *Bhāgavata* in Alberuni shows that it is to the 'Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*' that he is referring and not to the *Devī Bhagavata*.

dhism by Kumārila and Śaṅkara that "Buddha could have been begun to be looked upon as an incarnation of Viṣṇu" (p. 148).

But the conception of Buddha as an avatāra is not at all a Post-Śaṅkarite event; but is a much older affair! Mr. Vaidya says, "In the Mahābhārata (about 3rd century B. C. according to my view) Buddha is not mentioned though his tenets are" (148). [Italics mine]. If it were not again *his own Mahābhārata* that is referred to, we may venture to point out that if he would read through the Epic with open eyes, he would find in it the Buddha mentioned as an avatāra of Viṣṇu; that the name of his father too, is correctly¹ given!

ततः कलियुगस्यादौ द्विजराजतनुं श्रितः ।

भीषया मागधेनैव धर्मराजयुद्धे वसन् ॥

काषायवस्त्रसंबीतो मुण्डितः शुक्लदन्तवान् ।

शुद्धोदनसुतो बुद्धो मोहयिष्यामि मानवान् ॥

(*Mokṣadharmā*, 348, 42-43).²

Neither the *Mokṣadharmā Parva* nor the particular section under reference could be dismissed as an interpolation since the Epic is known to have existed *in its present form* as early as 500 A. D.³

1. Mr. Vaidya is rather hard upon the author of the *Bhāgavata* when he writes with reference to ततः कलौ संप्रवृत्ते संमोहाय सुरद्विषां ।

बुद्धो नाम्ना जिनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति ॥ of the original. "Here Buddha and Jina are confounded and the author seems to know not much of either" (p. 148). The term जिनसुत does not, however, mean 'son of Jina' as Mr. Vaidya misunderstands; but is, simply, a term of reproach not infrequently used by polemical writers: of आलंकारिकतन्त्रैः नोद्वेक्षणार्थं; यत्तुद्भाषितं नैयायिकतन्त्रैः — etc. This term, Mr. Vaidya will further see, embodies the historical truth of the close affinity between Jainism and Buddhism and that the author of the *Bhāgavata* knows more than Mr. Vaidya suspects! I cannot, for the life of me, understand the point in Mr. Vaidya's sapient comment: 'Here Buddha and Jina are confounded'. To say (as does the author of the *Bhāgavata*) that X is the son of Y is not, I believe, to confound the two!!

2. Kumbakonam Edn.

3. "The Epic in 500 A. D. was practically of exactly the same length" and in 462 A. D. there is a land grant mentioning the extent of the Epic as it is today — p. 287, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Macdonell).

Śaṅkara is perfectly familiar with the *Mokṣadharmā Parva* and quotes it frequently in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and elsewhere. Indeed, his familiarity with the *Parva* is thorough to the minutest detail. To mention but one illustration in point, witness his commentary on the *Gītā* iii, 1, where he quotes a passage¹ (from the *Mokṣadharmā*) with the remark: इति शुक्रादुशासनम् । Examining the *Mokṣadharmā* carefully, we find the passage in question occurs there in a speech put into the mouth of Śuka ! Such being the case, there is no inherent difficulty in supposing that Śaṅkara could have had easy access to the passage in the *Mokṣadharmā* representing Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu come to mislead the ungodly.

Nor is the above the only place in the *Mokṣadharmā* where the Buddha is spoken of as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Attention may be drawn to :—

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।

रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्कीति ते दश ॥

(*Mahābhārata* xii, 348, 2).

And for aught we know, Śaṅkara would very well have used this information as a double-edged device to discredit his opponents and to win back the straying sheep to the fold of orthodox Brahmanism. The existence of Brahmans in open sympathy with Buddhist tenets is admitted by Mr. Vaidya himself who speaks of the "Vaisnavas who were less hostile to them than others owing to their also professing and practising Ahimsā." (p. 148).

Moreover, Mr. Vaidya assigns no reason for the momentous event of Buddha's inclusion among the Avatāras. And he has already forfeited the only plausible reason for it by assigning it to a period long after Śaṅkara and Kumārila. It seems ludicrous to suppose that more than a thousand years after the death of Buddha and long after "the final blow of Buddhism" had been given, the Brahmans invented the theory of Buddha being an

1. कर्मणा बध्यते जन्तुर्विद्यया च विमुच्यते ।

तस्मात्कर्म न कुर्वन्ति यतयः पाददर्शिनः ॥

Avatāra. Mr. Vaidya forgets that after the 'final blow' was given, there was, indeed, no earthly necessity to *deify* the Buddha on the part of the enemies of Buddhism! A more reasonable hypothesis would be to maintain that the deification of Buddha was an act of self-preservation and a bold stroke of Brahmanical diplomacy to stem the tide of Buddhism and prevent the rapid conversion of men of their own community to Buddhism.

The growing popularity of Buddhism and the weight and prospect of royal patronage that it carried with it as a bait turned men's minds towards it and created a favorable atmosphere among the Brahmins and others for the spread of Buddhism. The orthodox among them watched with great anxiety this turn of events. Already, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, Buddha passed for a God and the power and prestige of Buddhism seemed to engulf Brahmanism which seemed well-nigh in danger of extinction. It was at such a time that a mighty effort was made by the Brahmins to deprive Buddhism of its hold on the intelligentsia and the masses. The days were not yet favorable for drastic measures. It was not very hard to convince the intelligentsia of the metaphysical bankruptcy of Buddhist nihilism and appeal to the metaphysical satisfyingness of Hinduism. But it was not so easy to cajole or convince the masses who were out of reach of the esoteric truths of Brahmanism. How to reclaim the allegiance of the masses from the glamor of Buddhist Ethics and Religious Organisation which had their own charm over the masses then (as now in the case of Christianity)? There was the tussle. The Brahmins (an admittedly resourceful community that they were), rose equal to the occasion and by a bold stroke of diplomacy stole a march over Buddhism by coolly assimilating many of its influential doctrines and institutions and ended up by claiming Buddha himself as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu!! The doctrine of *Ahimsā* was proclaimed from house tops with one voice and the rank and file of the Brahmin community turned vegetarian from that time onwards. A more austere reform could scarcely be imagined. The institution of Monasteries and allied practices of *Vāśa* or Winter Retreat corresponding to *Cāturmāsya* were assiduously absorbed by the Brahmins. To crown all this, Brahmanism proclaimed Buddha an *avatāra* and killed Buddhism by a fraternal

embrace! The idea of the divinity of Buddha being already established firmly among the Buddhists and their admirers among the Hindus, it was virtually impossible to eradicate the spell of this belief¹; and the only safe course left for the Brahmins was to out-Herod Herod by a show of subscribing to this doctrine by proclaiming him an Avatāra of Visnu. At the same time, caution was taken to give a bad name to the Avatāra by calling him as one come 'to delude the undeserving' -- which further was too ambiguous to offend the Buddhists alone! and which also had the additional advantage of providing the still staunch admirers of the Buddha among the faithful the pleasure (a very short pleasure it would be as the Brahmins very well knew) of laughing in their sleeves at the diplomatic folly of the Brahmins and other orthodox Hindus. The device wore on until its very clumsiness disappeared behind the crust of time. The device itself could not at the time have been regarded as either clumsy or nonsensical since it was not a theory to be put to the test of extraneous criticism but was simply intended to lull the doubting conscience of half-Buddhists among the faithful -- especially among the masses. These would easily be satisfied with the honor shown to Buddha in their own old religion which would reconcile them both to the new and the old faith without necessitating any violent changes of faith and enable them to live at peace with their prosperous Buddhist brethren. They would not care very much to see if the honor done to Buddha was a real one or if it was simply a make-believe.

The conception itself of an Avatāra come to delude the unworthy is not so indefensible or puerile as it may now appear to us. It is partly ingrained in the nature of Hinduism itself and is traceable to the *Rgveda*:--

खले न पर्षान्प्रातिहान्मि भूरि ॥
किं मा निन्दन्ति शत्रवोऽनिन्द्राः ॥

1. Cf. "The priesthood not being able to deny that Buddha was an Avatāra interpolated forged śloka and absurd stories saying that Buddha came to mislead the asuras" and an amusing tirade in a similar strain by a 'cultured' writer (now no more) in *Bhārata Dharma*, June 1923 (p. 42),

गृण्वे वीर उग्रमुग्रं दमायन्
अन्यमन्यमति नेनीयमानः ।
एधमानद्विष्टुभयस्य राजा
चोष्क्यते विश इन्द्रो मनुष्यान् ॥

The conception is familiar to many Purāṇas¹ in one form or other; and it is clearly deducible from the Gītā.²

The theory of God incarnating himself to mislead the ungodly and prevent their participation in Vedic Sacrifices and access to Right Knowledge is current coin among the commentators of the Vedānta. Accordingly, they look upon whatever system is hostile to them as the result of a vicious and misleading campaign on part of God to delude the undeserving :—

ननु कथं मोहनार्थत्वं पाशुपतस्य ? उक्तं हि भगवत्प्रणीते तत्त्वप्रतिपादकतया सात्त्विके
श्रीमति वाराहे पुराणे ॥

एष मोहं सृजाम्याशु यो जनान्मोहयिष्यति ।
त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो मोहशास्त्राणि कारय ॥

(Sudarśana Sūri: *Śrutaprakāśa*).³

वेदबाह्या विद्याः सुखैरिणां वञ्चनायोपदिदेशेति पौराणिकाः

(Śaṅkara: *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*).

भ्रान्तिमूलतया सर्वसमयानामयुक्तिः ।

न तद्विरोधाद्भ्रमं वैदिकं शङ्क्यतां व्रजेत् ॥

(*Aṇu Bhāṣya*: Vallabha and Madhva).⁴

तथा च शिवो न परमेश्वर इति भ्रमः गौतमादिशापदोषसमुद्भवोऽवैदिकानामेव ।

(Advaitānanda: *Brahmavidyābhāṣya*).⁵

अतः (पञ्चरात्रस्य) त्रयीविहितसंस्कारविपरीतसंस्कारविधानांशे व्यामोहकत्वं इति दिक् ॥

(Appayya Dikṣita: *Parimala*).⁶

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iii, 17, 41 where Viṣṇu is said to have produced a being to delude the Asuras, from his own Body! (मायामोहं शरीरतः स्रष्टव्याय)

2. Cf. IV, 8; xvi, 19—20.

3. *Śrūta Prakāśa*, p. 1600, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889. Cf. also: *Nyāya Pariśuddhi*, of Vedānta Deśika who quotes the same authorities — p. 288; Brahma Vādin Press, 1913.

4. Bombay Sanskrit series, p. 544.

5. Advaita Mañjarī Series, p. 521.

6. Nirṇaya Sagara Press, 1917, p. 575.

व्यासचरणैर्वेदानामव्याकुलत्वे संपादितेऽपि पुनर्देयव्यामोहनाय प्रवृत्तस्य भगवतो बुद्धस्याज्ञया, 'त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो ' 'स्वागमैः कल्पितैस्त्वं च जनान् मद्विमुखान् कुरु,' इत्येवंरूपया महादेवादयः स्वांशेनावतीर्य, वैदिकेषु प्राविश्य, सर्वमेव लोकं व्यामोहितवन्तः ॥

(Vallabha : *Anubhāsa*).¹

सर्वज्ञस्य कथं विरुद्धप्रलापः तत्राह प्रद्वेषो वेति । वेदबाह्या अत्र प्रजा ग्राह्याः ॥

(*Ratnaprabhā*).²

It is needless to multiply instances.

There is thus nothing grotesque about the theory of a मोहनार्थ अवतार; and such a theory could very well have been made use of by the forerunners of the Brāhmanical revival in the campaign against Buddhism. Śaṅkara himself, a pucca controversialist that he was, could not have failed to make use of the Buddha Avatāra theory both to discredit the faith and at the same time to warn the wavering against the pernicious character of Buddhism. There is every reason to believe that the doctrine of Buddha as an Avatāra was well-known to Śaṅkara. Concluding his tirade against Buddhism, in the course of his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, Śaṅkara writes :—

अपि च, बाह्यार्थविज्ञानशून्यवादत्रयमितरेतरविरुद्धमुपदिशता सुगतेन स्पष्टीकृतमात्मनोऽसंबद्धप्रलापित्वं, प्रद्वेषो वा प्रजासु विरुद्धार्थप्रतिपत्त्या विमुह्येयुरिमाः प्रजा इति³ ॥ This refers unmistakably to the deceitful campaign of Buddha⁴ the Avatāra of Viṣṇu even as Ānandagiri helps us to understand :—

सर्वज्ञस्य भगवतो वासुदेवस्य इतिहासपुराणयोः बुद्धत्वप्रसिद्धेः, तस्यासंबद्धप्रलापित्वमयुक्तमित्याशङ्क्याह — प्रद्वेषो वेति⁵ ॥

1. Bombay Sanskrit Series, pp 651-2.

2. Nirṇayasagar Press, pp. 479-80.

3. Śaṅkara's B. S. B., ii, 2. 32, p. 558, Nirṇaya Sagar Press.

4. Cf. वेदबाह्या विद्याः सुरवैरिणां वञ्चनाय चोपादिशति पौराणिकाः कथयन्ति — Śaṅkara, *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya* — on the Holy Name, *Tīrthakara* (v. 87), p. 123, Vanivilas Edn.

5. Ānandagiri's gloss, on Śaṅkara B. S. B., p. 479, Nirṇayasagar Press.

It is obvious, therefore, that Śaṅkara was perfectly aware of the traditional theory about Buddha and used it very effectively indeed as a finishing blow to Buddhism. And he could have derived his information as likely from the *Bhāgavata* as from the *Mokṣadharmā*. Of course, we cannot categorically assert that he drew upon the *Bhāgavata* alone. Nor, am I anxious to maintain that this reference to Buddha's 'misleading campaign' proves his acquaintance with the *Bhāgavata*. My only point is that the deification of Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in the *Bhāgavata*, can by no means prove its Post-Śaṅkarite origin as Mr. Vaidya contends. By advancing such an argument as this, Mr. Vaidya has only laid bare his blissful ignorance of the great antiquity of this doctrine which finds a place even in the *Mokṣadharmā* section of the *Mahābhārata*. Since Mr. Vaidya has raised the knotty issue of the date of the deification of Buddha as an Avatāra, by the Hindus, I feel bound to place before the readers certain very powerful pieces of evidence which I have been able to gather in the course of my researches into this question of the date of the *Bhāgavata*, bearing on the Buddha Avatāra - doctrine.

There occurs a reference to the Buddha - Avatāra in one of the hymns of Nammālvār,¹ alias Saint Śaṭagopa, who preceded Rāmānuja by more than a century -- (I give below the transliteration in Devanāgarī from the original Tamil :)

कल्लवेडत्तैक्कोण्डुपोय् पुरंपुक्कवारुं कलन्दसुरै
उळ्ळुभेदं शेय्दिदुयिरुण्ड उपायङ्गल्लम् ॥
वेळ्ळैनीर्चडैपातुं निळ्ळिडैवेरलामै विळ्ळंग निळ्ळु
उळ्ळुसुळ्ळु कुवैदु एन्नुयिरै उरुक्किडुण्णुमे ॥

(*Tiruvāimozhi* : Nammālvār V, 10, 4)².

I also subjoin below the relevant extracts from the highly authoritative commentaries on the present stanza :--

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1. My thanks are due to Mr. B. V. Ramanujam, M. A., Research Student in History in the Annamalai University, for having spotted these references at my request.
 2. Bhagavad Viśayam - Tiruvāimozhi, S. Krishnamācārya. Triplicane, Madras, 1926.

(i) The *Ārāyirappaḍi* of Tirukkurugai Pirān Pillai, (born 1061 A. D.) contemporary of Rāmānuja :—

*asurarode śerndu vaidika sraddhaigalaippokki.*¹

(ii) *Irubattu Nālāyiram*, of Peria Āccān Pillai (Born 1207):-
Nālām pāṭṭil *Bauddhāvatāra vṛttāntam* migavum ennai naliyāni-
nratu enkirār.²

(iii) *Īḍu* of Vadakku Tiruvīdi Pillai (Born 1226):-
Nālām pāṭṭil *Bauddhāvatāra vṛttāntam* ennai migavum naliyāni-
nratu enkirār.³

(iv) *Onpadināyirappaḍi* of Nan-jīyar (Born 1112):-
Nālām pāṭṭil *Bauddhāvatāram* ennai naliyāninradenkirār.⁴

Nammālvār belonging to the 9th century, it follows that the conception of Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu come to delude the Asuras was at least a few centuries earlier. The doctrine, having originated with the Purāṇas and the Epic, must have found its way into the devotional literature of the Vaisnava Saints of S. India of whom Nammālvār holds the most exalted place, only gradually. This shows that in the 9th century it was by no means a new-fangled idea but was still considered to be a doctrine of the hoary past.

This surmise is greatly strengthened by the occurrence of another reference under similar circumstances to the Buddha Avatāra of Viṣṇu in one of the excellent hymns of Appar (Tiru nāvukkaraṣu) the Śaiva Saint who flourished within the 7th century A. D. :—

Neśanīlakkuḍi araneyenā niśarāi

Neḍumāl śeyda māyattāl !

Īśanor śarameyya veruṇḍupcy

*Nāśamānār Tripuranādaṛ.*⁵ ||

1. Tiruvāimozhi with comm. (op. cit ,) p. 67. (vol. 5).

2. Op. cit. , p. 67.

3. Op. cit. , p. 68.

4. Op. cit. , p. 67.

5. Appar, *Tevāram* : 5th Tirumurai verse 5. (*Tirunīlakkuḍi hymn*),

Not only this. A Pallava inscription on the lintel above the figure of Śamkara-Nārāyaṇa in the rock-cut verandah of the Varāha Perumāl temple at Mahābalipuram contains a well-known Purāṇic verse mentioning the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu. The verse as described by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 26, (p. 5), and inscribed in Pallava Grantha characters runs (with the first quarter "new hidden from view by a modern wall" fully restored) thus —

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।

रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश' ॥

H. Krishna Shastri is of opinion that the Pallava grantha characters employed in the five Pallava inscriptions in the rock cut temple at Mahābalipuram "must belong to the time of Parameśvara Varman I" who is assigned to circa 670--690 A. D. This would amply prove that Buddha had come to be regarded as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu and classed among the ten Avatāras long before the 7th century A. D. Śamkara is assigned to the 8th century A.D.; and it needs no further proof that this conception was firmly established some centuries before the philosopher. Mr. Vaidya's theory, therefore, that the inclusion of Buddha among the Avatāras of Viṣṇu happened long long after Śamkara "preached and wrote" and his attempt to post-date the *Bhāgavata* on this ground all stand utterly discredited. This would also show that our opinions about Kumārila and Śamkara being the pioneer champions of the Revival of Hinduism would themselves have to be speedily revised in the light of evidences adduced. It must be clearly understood that the revival of Hinduism came much earlier than either Kumārila or Śamkara. These two, however, were among the many conspicuous champions of the Renaissance of orthodox Hinduism. It cannot be argued, therefore, that so early a date as the 7th century A. D. for the Buddha-Avatāra theory is incompatible with the comparatively late attempts at the revival of Hinduism under Kumārila and Śamkara. This early date would

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1. It will be seen that this "Purāṇic passage" which Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has left untraced and unidentified is from the *Mokṣadharmā* of the *Mahābhārata* already referred to by me.

not also militate against the fact of the Avatāra theory having been used as a favourable device by the earliest champions of Hinduism.

V.

The inclusion of Buddha as an Avatāra in the *Bhāgavata* cannot therefore, help us in determining the date of the Purāṇa. We shall now turn to an examination of another criterion proposed by Mr. Vaidya. Taking his stand on certain statements made by Śaṅkara in the course of his refutation of the Sāṃkhya system, in his *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* (ii, 1, 1), Mr. Vaidya concludes that "the Sāṃkhya of the *Bhāgavata* is later than Śaṅkara." His reason is that Śaṅkara speaks of two Kapilas with one of whom he associates the Purāṇic episode of the burning of the sons of Sagara. This Kapila is further claimed to be different from the Founder of the Sāṃkhya system. But in the *Bhāgavata* no such distinction is made and Kapila who burnt the sons of Sagara is identified with the founder of Sāṃkhya: यस्येति सांख्यमयी द्देहहर्ता (ix, 8, 14). "This is in clear opposition to the statement of Śaṅkara [अन्यस्य च कपिलस्य, सगरपुत्राणां प्रतनुर्बासुदेवनाम्नः स्मरणात्] and shows that Śaṅkara must have preached and written before the popular *Bhāgavata* came into existence" (p 152).

But a critical examination of the evidence adduced by Mr. Vaidya shows that there is really no contradiction between Śaṅkara's position and the statement of the *Bhāgavata*. In Śaṅkara's statement, quoted above, there is nothing to show that Kapila - Vāsudeva could not have taught some sort of 'Sāṃkhya' tenets. Mr. Vaidya need not flare up into a violent protest at the word Sāṃkhya. It is methodologically unjust to peevishly restrict the term Sāṃkhya to the heterodox and 'agnostic' (if not also atheistic) Sāṃkhya and then to argue that Śaṅkara's Kapila, - i. e., Kapila - Vāsudeva, would not be guilty of it; and that therefore the *Bhāgavata* must be grievously mistaken in attributing Sāṃkhya ideas to this Kapila - (Vāsudeva) and hence must be later than Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara himself, simply denies the identity of his Kapila (Vāsudeva who burnt the sons of Sagara) with the *Pūrvapakṣin's* Kapila - i. e., the founder of heterodox Sāṃkhya. This does not, however, mean, that Śaṅkara's Kapila could not

have held 'Sāṃkhya' views which would be perfectly consistent with Vedānta. This, in turn would raise the question : were there two distinct types of Sāṃkhya one which was compatible with Vedānta doctrines and the other entirely opposed to it? In Śaṃkara's opinion, as indeed in the opinion of every orthodox commentator on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, there *were* two types of Sāṃkhya.¹ From the historical point of view also, there are two types of Sāṃkhya — the Upanisadic and Epic Sāṃkhya which was mainly theistic and the later Sāṃkhya "system" which was practically atheistic. The occurrence of frequent references to Sāṃkhya categories like Pradhāna or Avyakta, Mahat, etc., and the use of the term 'Sāṃkhya' itself in the Upanisads show that some kind of 'Sāṃkhya' must, willy nilly, be admitted to have been recognised in orthodox circles. And the alleged contradiction between the two Kapilas would disappear if we understand the Kapila of the *Bhāgavata* to have held and taught views similar to those of the Upanisadic Sāṃkhya² — whatever it may mean! Śaṃkara himself is concerned with establishing the identity of his Kapila — (Vāsudeva) with the Kapila of the *Svetāśvatara* passage and not with denying that the latter Kapila had anything to do with any kind of Sāṃkhya! Now, if it were denied that Vāsudeva — Kapila taught any kind of Sāṃkhya, albeit orthodox, and if it were contended that this Kapila, the teacher of orthodox

1. Cf अशोच्यानित्यादिना भगवता, यावत्स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्येत्येतदन्तेन ग्रन्थेन यत्परमार्थ-
मात्मतत्त्वनिरूपणं कृते तत्सांख्यम् ॥ तद्विषया बुद्धिः आत्मनो जन्मादिक्रियाभावाद्-
कर्तात्मेति प्रकरणार्थं निरूपणाद्या जायते सा सांख्यबुद्धिः सा येषां भवति ते सांख्याः—
Śaṃkara on *Gītā*, II, 11 ;

सांख्यं-ज्ञानं, ब्रह्मात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानं सांख्यमित्यभिधीयत इति भगवद्वचनाद्व्यासस्मृतौ --
Madhva on *Gītā*, II, 39 ;

तत्र सांख्ययोगशब्दौ कपिलपातञ्जलशास्त्रवचनाकिति प्रतीतिनिरासाय व्याचष्टे --
Jayatīrtha ;

सांख्ययोगौ = ज्ञानयोगकर्मयोगौ — Rāmānuja on *Gītā*, V, 4 ;

अत्र सांख्ययोगशब्दौ न कपिलहैरण्यगर्भसिद्धान्तविषयौ — Vedānta Deśika.

ज्ञानव्याः पदार्थाः संख्यायन्ते यस्मिन्शास्त्रे तत् सांख्यं वेदान्तः Śaṃkara on *Gītā*,
XVIII, 13.

2. तथा च तेन (कृषिं प्रसूतं) अद्वैतानुयायी वासुदेवांशः कपिल एव प्रतिपाद्यत इति निर्धारयिदुं
शक्यं — *Brahma Vidya-bharaṇa* II, 1, I,

and theistic Sāṃkhya, was different from Vāsudeva Kapila, it would come to this that there were three Kapilas in all — one the Upanisadic Kapila whom Śāṃkara claims to be one with Vāsudeva — Kapila and two others connected with orthodox and heterodox types of Sāṃkhya !! The recognition of two Kapilas by Śāṃkara is itself criticised by some as an undue strain on probabilities.¹ We cannot, therefore, admit more than two Kapilas. The one would be Kapila — Vāsudeva who burnt the sons of Sagara and who is further to be identified with the Kapila of the *Śvetāśvatara* passage and the second would be the founder of heterodox Sāṃkhya. But here again, the Kapila of the *Śvetāśvatara* could not be forced to eschew all connections with some sort of 'Sāṃkhya.'

For, the *Śvetāśvatara* itself is "interested in presenting a theistic syncretism of the Vedānta, the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga²". It would be idle to deny that the Kapila (whoever he was) of the *Śvetāśvatara*³ taught some kind of 'Sāṃkhya'. No imparital stu-

1. "In his Bhāṣya on II, 1, 1, Madhva is *practically silent*. Śāṃkara asserts that the Vedic Kapila is different from the author of the Sāṃkhya Smṛti. Rāmānuja admits Kapila as an āpta but not as an āptatama × × × × × It is clear from these that Śāṃkara's statement about another Kapila cannot be supported from any ancient Smṛti or Purāṇa. To admit two Kapilas on the questionable evidence of *Pādma* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* is to give too much weight to Purāṇa literature." pp. 61-62, M. G. Shastri, *An Examination of Śāṃkara's Refutation of Sāṃkhya Theory*, Poona. The author is not quite correct in stating that Madhva is silent over the question of a duality of Kapilas. A reference to Madhva's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* would at once show that he too, is prepared to recognise two Kapilas and quotes *Pādma* itself against which Mr. Shastri murmurs:

तन्त्रं सांख्यं वेदानुसरि । पाञ्चैव ।

कपिलो वासुदेवाख्यः तन्त्रं सांख्यं जगाद ह ।

ब्रह्मादिभ्यश्च देवेभ्यो भृग्वादिभ्यस्तथैव च ॥

तथैवास्त्रये सर्ववेदार्थैरुपबृंहितम् ।

सर्ववेदविरुद्धं च कपिलोऽन्यो जगाद ह ।

सांख्यमासुरियन्यस्मै कुतर्कपरिवृंहितम् ॥ इति ॥ i, 3, 10; *Sarvamūla* pp. 792-3.

2. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol i, p. 142. (1929).
3. Witness the eloquent testimony of passages of the *Śvetāśvatara* itself such as : अजमेकाम् iv, 5; क्षरं यच्चानं i, 10 etc.

dent or Professor of Indian Philosophy cares to hide this historical fact to-day that the Upanisads do not give us any one set theory of philosophy and have no dogmatic scheme of theology to propound but embody the doctrines of several types of speculation — the Sāmkhya, Yoga, Vedānta &c. Even Buddhism is claimed by some to be traceable to the Upanisads.¹ Mr. Vaidya therefore, is clearly mistaken in asserting that the association of Sāmkhya with Kapila in the *Bhāgavata* is “in clear opposition to the statement of Śamkara”. He is also needlessly confusing himself by the promiscuous use of the phrases — ‘Sāmkhya System’ and ‘founder of the Sāmkhya System’. These have now come to mean the agnostic system of Sāmkhya set forth in the *Tattva-Samāsa Sūtras*, the *Sāmkhya-sūtra*, the *Sāmkhya-Kārikās* &c, and attributed to Kapila — one of the early predecessors of Vindhya vāsin, Īśvarakṛṣṇa &c. Mr. Vaidya, therefore, is not justified in applying these terms in their historical significance to the ‘Sāmkhya’ of the Upanisads, Epics and Purānas and hanging up some theory on a supposed reference to the “founder of the Sāmkhya System”. He entirely misunderstands Śamkara when he writes that the association of (some sort of) Sāmkhya views with Kapila in the *Bhāgavata* is “clearly in opposition to Śamkara’s statement”. Mr. Vaidya would do well to look up Śamkara’s commentary on the *Vasṇusahasranāma* in the course of which he clearly calls the Kapila commemorated in the *Śvetāśvatara* passage (which also he cites) Sāmkhyācārya! Only, ‘Sāmkhya’ with Śamkara, as indeed with every other orthodox commentator of the Vedānta, does not (always) mean the ‘System of Sāmkhya’. For the information of Mr. Vaidya, I may cite the passage which runs:—कपिलश्च असौ सांख्यस्य शुद्धात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानस्य आचार्यश्चेति कपिलाचार्य । ‘शुद्धात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानं सांख्यमित्यभिधीयते’ इति व्यसस्मृतेः, कपिं प्रह्लं कपिलं इति श्रुतेश्च ॥²

Mr. Vaidya’s argument suffers from another fallacy and self-contradiction also. The association of Sāmkhya views with

1. Cf. “Early Buddhism, we venture to hazard a conjecture, is only a restatement of the thought of the Upanisads from a new stand-point”-Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* Vol i, p. 361.

2. *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*, p. 106, Vanī Vilas Edn., (Vol. XIII.). Vide the same authority cited by Madhva also,

Kapila — Vāudeva in the *Bhāgavata* would betray the post Śāmkarite character of that Purāna only when it could be proved that such views were unknown prior to Śāmkara. But, this is utterly impossible. Mr. Vaidya himself admits that "the Sāmkhya enjoyed favor with the orthodox Pandits of the Hindu Religion" — (a very clumsy expression by the way) — and that "Originally the Sāmkhya was acceptable since its tenets were not openly at variance with orthodox Vedic views". This takes the pith out of Mr. Vaidya's thesis that later on, when the Vedānta philosophy was formulated the Sāmkhya became an unorthodox philosophy". It is ludicrous to believe that the same type of Sāmkhya became orthodox and heterodox at different times. In that case, the Vedānta too, would have to be acknowledged as opposed to "Vedic views" in so far as it is (claimed to be) opposed to the old Sāmkhya which was "originally acceptable since its tenets were not at variance with Vedic views". Only a monistic prejudice is responsible for such a hide and seek policy. But, it certainly will not do. A more reasonable explanation would be to understand Bādarāyana's refutation of Sāmkhya tenets as being directed towards the *heterodox Sāmkhya System* (which was heterodox throughout) and not against the orthodox type of Sāmkhya known to the Upanisads and the Epic — (whatever Śāmkara might have understood by such a kind of 'Sāmkhya'). On Śāmkara's own showing, there are two Kapilas; and I see no reason why there should not have flourished two types of Sāmkhya—thought each distinct from the other in essential doctrines. The testimony of Śāmkara himself (in the *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*) supports the reasonableness of such a view. Literary evidence, also, in Sanskrit, is not wanting to show that as a matter of fact, two types of Sāmkhya thought were known — the one which Mr. Vaidya is compelled to admit "was acceptable since its tenets were not at variance with orthodox Vedic views" and the other which was opposed to the "Vedic views" and Vedāntic views alike! The *Svetāśvatara* and *Kaṭha* Upanisads testify to the existence of some type of Sāmkhya which found its way into the Epics—especially the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Gītā*, the *Viṣṇu*, *Kūrma* and *Bhāgavata*.

1 May we ask Mr. Vaidya why the Sāmkhya referred to in the *Bhāgavata* could not have been this same variety of it?

Purāṇas &c. The "Sāṃkhya" as we find it in the *Gītā* etc. is as much theistic as dualistic :—

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्वद्यनादी उभावपि ॥
ममयोनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन्गर्भे दधाम्यहं ॥
प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव प्रविश्याशु महेश्वरः ।
क्षोभयामास संप्राप्ते सर्गकाले व्ययव्ययौ' ॥

Mr. Vaidya's conjecture therefore that "after this condemnation of the Sāṃkhya system and some of its unorthodox tattvas such as Mahat etc., by Śamkara, an attempt was made to remedy these defects and we know that the *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* which exist to-day and which plainly belong to about the 14th century A. D. represent the Sāṃkhya philosophy as Śeśvara or with — God and try to identify the Mahat-Tattva with Hiranyagarbha of the orthodox philosophy and that "the *Bhāgavata* clearly makes this attempt" is wrong look, stock and barrel. For one thing, the Sāṃkhya system as propounded in the *Sūtras* (whose date also Mr. Vaidya so kindly determines) is far from theistic or being 'with-God' as Mr. Vaidya puts it. The *Sūtras* do not expressly admit the existence of God. Nay, one *Sūtra* even goes to the extent of denying Him. — ईश्वरासिद्धेः which the special pleading of Vijñāna Bhikṣu alone claims to embody not a denial of God-head but the denial of the possibility of proving his existence -- in other words the denial of any *pramāṇa* anent the existence of God. Apart from the fact of such an interpretation of the *Sūtra* being forced, it is candidly admitted by all, that we can, with perfect truth, describe the attitude of the *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* as agnostic if not totally atheistic. And it is worth noting that the *Sāṃkhya Kārikās* do not even make this show of an agnosticism! The *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali, on the other hand, were avowedly theistic from very early times and the term *सेश्वरसांख्य*, the Sāṃkhya "with-God" -- to borrow Mr. Vaidya's excellent rendering for the nonce, is really applied to the Pātañjala *Yoga Sūtras* and not to the 14th century *Sāṃkhya Sūtras*! Mr. Vaidya is sadly confusing the two. The theistic Sāṃkhya i. e. to say either the *Yoga-type* or the Epic Sāṃkhya, was therefore known long long

before "Śamkara preached and wrote" and was by no means an after — math of Śamkara's campaign against the Sāmkhya. Here again, Mr. Vaidya, in his anxiety to assign the *Bhāgavata* to a date much later than Śamkara, on the strength of the view that it "makes an attempt to remedy these defects " forgets, most inexcusably, that there was simply no necessity for the *Bhāgavata* to undertake a reorientation of the kind referred to, since even in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Mokṣadharmā*, the *Kūrma Purāṇa* etc., the Sāmkhya was mainly theistic and dualistic in outlook. Mr. Vaidya himself admits, with some discomfiture, that in the *Mahābhārata* "the Sāmkhya philosophy is stated over and over again though its dualism and the plurality of souls is noted with a little disfavour ! " However that may be, there can be little doubt, that a purely theistic and dualistic Sāmkhya existed long before Śamkara ; such an admission leaves no ground for Mr. Vaidya to conclude that the theistic Sāmkhya of the *Bhāgavata* must necessarily be viewed as a Post-Śamkarite compromise or revision of the Sāmkhya system ! Why could not the *Bhāgavata*, I ask, have derived its theistic Sāmkhya faithfully, from the *Bhārata*, *Gītā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* and other early sources ? Is it because Mr. Vaidya should find support for his theory of the Post — Śamkarite origin of the *Bhāgavata* ? I wait for an answer. Here again, my point is that the criterion proposed by Mr. Vaidya is clearly insufficient.

A word about the attempt to "identify (the unorthodox) Mahat Tattva with Hiranyagarbha of the orthodox philosophy." Mr. Vaidya's belief that an attempt of this kind was distinctly Post-Śamkarite and was purely necessitated by the desire of the votaries and sympathisers of the Sāmkhya to patch up its defects and make it conform to orthodox belief is clearly erroneous. The identification of Mahat Tattva with Hiranyagarbha, was no new device or development of a Post-Śamkarite origin but was current long, long, before that Philosopher and — what would be more startling for Mr. Vaidya to hear, — was effectively made use of by Śamkara to repudiate the claim of the Sāmkhyas that this 'tattva' also had the support of the *Śruti* and *Smṛti* as can be seen from the following quotation from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* made by Śamkara himself :—

मनोमहान्मतिर्ब्रह्मा पुर्बुद्धिःख्यातिरीश्वरः ।

प्रज्ञासंविच्चित्तिश्चैव स्मृतिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥

इति स्मृतेः या प्रथमजस्य हिरण्यगर्भस्य बुद्धिः सेह महानात्मेत्युच्यते¹ ॥

A careful consideration of the various Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa dealing with the Sāṃkhya and Śaṃkara's commentaries on them would easily show that far from the heterodox Sāṃkhyas or their friends wanting to make a compromise with or profit by the criticisms of the Vedāntins and Śaṃkara, and patch up or modify some of their old views and evolve a quasi *theistic* system to escape the defects pointed out by their opponents (towards which end the *Bhāgavata* is claimed to make an attempt), it is Śaṃkara and the Vedāntins who are (in keeping with their ambitious theory of सर्वशब्दसमन्वय in Brahman) found to exploit the pure Sāṃkhya concepts and categories in the *Śruti* and elsewhere. A discussion of this is beside our point. Enough has been said, however, to show that the Syncretist Sāṃkhya of our Epics and Purāṇas is Pre-Śaṃkarite in origin and that therefore the presence of such Syncretic Sāṃkhya in a given Purāṇa (such as the *Bhāgavata*) is not evidence *per se* of the Post-Śaṃkarite origin of that work.

VI

There are several other statements made by Mr. Vaidya in trying to fix the date of the *Bhāgavata*. I have already shown that it would be a dangerous game to presume to fix the date of our Purāṇa on such a feeble and ubiquitous grounds. Says Mr. Vaidya "The *Bhāgavata* preaches that there are 22 avatāras of Viṣṇu. The present *orthodox belief* (Italics mine) is that there are *only ten* Avatāras. The present view must have grown after the *Bhāgavata*. In the *Gīta-Govinda*, Jayadeve details only ten Avatāras²". The argument advanced by Mr. Vaidya only confirms the view that the *Bhāgavata* is earlier than Jayadeva and that the modern theory is but a simplification of the old. So far, there is nothing very original in Mr. Vaidya's remarks. But, the craze for novelty has him by the throat when he opines that "*Śaṃkara further refutes the view that Kapila, the founder of the Sāṃkhya system was an incarnation and seems therefore to precede the Bhā-*

1. Śaṃkara B. S. B. i., 4, 1, p. 376, Nirṇayasagar Press.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 152.

gavata' ". Misunderstanding and misrepresentation of S'āṁkara cannot go further. In the first place, in the passage in question in S'āṁkara's Bhāṣya (which Mr. Vaidya has in mind) no claim is made by the *Pūrvapakṣin* on behalf of Kapila that he is an incarnation of Viṣṇu ; hence it is the height of disingenuity to represent S'āṁkara as refuting a claim that had never been made by his opponent ! In the particular context referred to by Mr. Vaidya, the *Pūrvapakṣin* claims that the Kapila of the *Śvetāvatara* (V, 2) is identical with the founder of the (heterodox) Sāṁkhya system and that therefore the Upanisads should be interpreted in strict conformity with the teachings of a Sage of the type of Kapila so highly spoken of in the Upanisads. Now, S'āṁkara, in reply, denies the identity of these two Kapilas and points out the differentia of *his* Kapila also (which, out of doubt, should be lacking in the other) to be his having burnt the sons of Sagara. If the Upanisadic Kapila were innocent of any kind of ' Sāṁkhya ' as Mr. Vaidya concludes (and finds fault with the *Bhāgavata* for attributing Sāṁkhya views to him and thus finds room for his theory of the Post-S'āṁkarite origin of the Purāṇa), S'āṁkara would, most naturally, have given *this* as the differentia of his Kapila instead of going in all the way for the Purāṇic incident of his having burnt the sons of Sagara and committing the additional blunder (?) of unhistorically connecting with the ancient personalities in the Upanisads the quaint incidents recorded in later Purāṇas ! This shows clearly that S'āṁkara was not averse to crediting both the Kapilas with some sort of Sāṁkhya views — not necessarily identical. That such is actually the case has already been proved by an extract from S'āṁkara's *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya* where he clearly calls *his Kapila* — i. e. Kapila-Vāsudeva, as a Sāṁkhyācārya ! The *Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma* accepts this Kapila as an incarnation of Viṣṇu—महर्षिः कपिलाचार्यः (v. 50). And S'āṁkara has no hesitation in identifying him with (1) the Kapila of the *Śvetāvatara* which passage also he quotes and (2) the Kapila who is called a Siddha and Muni in the *Gītā* (which also, he quotes) ! Mr. Vaidya's contention, therefore, that S'āṁkara refutes the claim of Kapila to be an Avatāra is utterly baseless.

1. Op. cit. p. 152. (Italics mine).

Equally unfounded is his claim that the Kapila holding Sāṃkhya views came to be regarded as an Avatāra only later than Śāṃkara, — for the first time in the *Bhāgavata*. The whole trouble has arisen, as I have pointed out, from the false restriction of the term Sāṃkhya to the *system* of that name. Mr. Vaidya would be rudely surprised to be told that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* speaks of Kapila as a manifestation of Viṣṇu :—

कपिलर्षिर्भगवतः सर्वभूतस्य वै द्विज ।
विष्णोरंशः । (II, 14, 9).

and once again in III, 2, 59 :—

कृते पुनं परं ज्ञानं कपिलादिस्वरूपधृक् ।

Mr. Vaidya, therefore, founders very miserably indeed when he concludes with great gusto that “the representation of Kapila as an incarnation of Viṣṇu makes the *Bhāgavata* later than Śāṃkara.” But, he is not to blame; for, he himself admits, with real pathos, “we have not been able to ascertain which (other) Purāṇa represents Kapila as an incarnation”! Only, we wish [he had not theorised *wildly* from the admittedly insufficient evidence at his command and landed himself in fantastic results.

Mr. Vaidya commits a very serious mistake in reading his own views into the statement of the *Bhāgavata*: यस्येति सांख्यमयी दृढे नौ (IX, 8 14), which he claims to bespeak the identity of the sage Kapila with the “founder of the Sāṃkhya system of Philosophy” (p. 152) — meaning by the term, ‘Sāṃkhya system,’ the heterodox Sāṃkhya. But, he himself admits that the Sāṃkhya associated with Kapila in the *Bhāgavata* is “made consistent with the Vaisnava philosophy.” So then, it follows that the ‘Sāṃkhya’ taught by this Kapila could not, in any sense, have been heterodox but was quite consistent with pure Vedāntic traditions. Mr. Vaidya forgets that it is bad logic to restrict the application of the term Sāṃkhya, especially in the Purāṇas, to the Sāṃkhya of Īśvarakṛṣṇa — brand, and argue from that position.

Similarly also, his statement that there are at present only 10 avatāras which he chooses to call “the orthodox belief” is based on imperfect acquaintance with *real* orthodox opinions. The ten

Avatāras are referred to, as he himself suggests, as the "chief ones" and it is illegitimate to interpret this to mean that a belief in more Avatāras is Unorthodox ! Vācaspati Miśra, as early as the 9th century, refers to Vyāsa as an Avatāra ; and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* speaks of Vyāsa and Kapila as manifestations of Viṣṇu ;—

ब्रह्मसूत्रकृते तस्मै वेदव्यासाय वेधसे ।

ज्ञानशक्त्यवताराय नमो भगवतो हरेः ॥ (*Bhāmattī*).

कृष्णद्वैपायनं साक्षाद्विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुं ।

को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद्भवेत् ॥ (*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*)

कपिलर्षिर्भगवतः सर्वभूतस्य वै द्विज ।

विष्णोरंशः ॥ (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*)

The authors of the *Śrūta Prakāśa*, Madhva etc., look upon Vyāsa as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu on sound authority and it would be amusing to contend that they do not represent 'orthodox belief' ! The *Mahābhārata* when it enumerates the ten avatāras makes no mention of Vyāsa ; also, one cannot charge Vācaspati Miśra, Sudarśana Sūri, Madhva and a host of others as being ignorant of 'Orthodox belief'. Elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* when Bhīṣma enumerates the Avatāras (*Sabha*, 36), mention is made of only 8 avatāras : The well-known *Matsya* and *Kūrma* are conspicuous by their absence ! Kalki is mentioned ; but Buddha, who is chronologically earlier than Kalki,—to come, is absent ! Curiously enough, Dattātreya, who is not mentioned commonly and not usually counted among the so-called 'Orthodox belief' of Mr. Vaidya, is given a place ! All this would prove how dangerous it would be to argue wildly from the vague and imperfect references in the *Purāṇas* and the ambiguous details contained in them. Mr. Vaidya's statement that there are only ten Avatāras and his claim that this is the orthodox belief deserve to be taken for what they are worth. The *Mahābhārata* clearly states that there are 'thousands of manifestations of Viṣṇu'—(*प्रादुर्भावसहस्राणि* II, 36) and Bhīṣma closing his narration observes :

एते चान्ये च बहवः दिव्या देवयणैर्युताः

प्रादुर्भावाः, पुराणेषु गीयन्ते ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥ II. 36, 231.

Mr. Vaidya would, therefore, have done well not to have rushed to hasty conclusions from admittedly insufficient evidence.

VII.

In my humble opinion, therefore, the date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* cannot be settled without the aid of express and unimpeachable textual evidence which is the only safe guide provided, of course, the works relied upon are of proven genuineness. It is glaringly noticeable that Mr. Vaidya has adduced not even one such independent textual evidence but has throughout relied upon very vague and slender pieces of evidence of the *Purāṇa* itself which on examination have been shown to be inconclusive. Before setting forth such external textual evidences collected by me during the course of my investigation of this question for the past two years and more, I shall have to say a few words about the last item of internal evidence adduced by Mr. Vaidya — viz., the list of 'future Kings' appended to the *Bhāgavata* forming the opening *adhyāya* of the XII *Skandha*.

Now, the list of 'future kings' is almost a proverbial feature of our *Purāṇas* and is now generally admitted to be a clumsy interpolation of later times.¹ Mr. Vaidya himself admits that there is some obvious clumsiness in the *Bhāgavata*, in the very manner of introducing this *Adhyāya* and adds, apologetically, that "the introductory question may be treated as an interpolation but not the whole chapter" (p. 154)!

Strangely enough, the reason he assigns for this reservation is that "to give a list of future kings had become traditional with the *Purāṇas* and the author of the *Bhāgavata* whose acquaintance with other *Purāṇas* cannot be doubted, could not have been satisfied without a chapter on future kings." Now, the very fact

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1. While one set of scholars is highly sceptical about the usefulness of any attempt to reconstruct the ancient and early history of India through the genealogies of the *Purāṇas*, another set of scholars opines that these genealogies are more useful for purposes of comparison rather than for independent speculation. In any case, it would be un-eritical to attempt to settle the original dates of the *Purāṇas* themselves from these genealogies.

that it is a rule with our Purāṇas to pretend to give a list of 'future kings' (knowing which weakness but too well, pious interpolators always conveniently smuggled in a revised and up-to-date list of 'future kings') must for once prejudice all scientifically minded students against swallowing their versions too readily. It is best therefore, to ignore these genealogies for chronological purposes. Even granting that a large number of these interpolated stanzas formed part of the original *Bhāgavata*, whatever its date, there is absolutely no reason why the portions now relied upon by Mr. Vaidya to prove the lateness of the Purāṇa could not have been later interpolations. Mr. Vaidya, therefore, is wrong in treating the entire chapter as it is to-day, to have formed part of the original *Bhāgavata* and 'proceeding' to "draw the natural conclusions from it."

VIII.

We shall, therefore, turn as the last and the only satisfactory resort, to external textual evidences with the hope that they may help to usher in a more satisfactory solution of the *verata questio* of the date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Reference has already been made to Abhinavagupta's quotations from the *Bhāgavata* and its currency during the time of Alberuni which obliges us to believe that the Purāṇa must have been some centuries earlier than the tenth.

This probability is further strengthened by a quotation from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* occurring in Gaudapāda's commentary on the *Uttara Gītā*. It is gratifying to note that even Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, whose scepticism with reference to the large mass of works fathered on Śaṅkara Gaudapāda etc. is well-known for its extremity, very kindly observes anent this commentary — "we can, for the present, only assert that there is nothing, so far discovered,¹ in these two commentaries (i. e., the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā Vṛtti* and the *Uttara-Gītā-Vṛtti*) that necessarily militates against the traditional identi-

1. The limiting adjuncts employed by the scholar are truly awe-inspiring. But I cannot reconcile the cautiousness displayed by these terms with the confident 'assertion'.

cation of their author with the author of the *Māṇḍūkya Kārikās*.¹ Hoping, therefore, that the learned Doctor will not have any occasion whatsoever to withdraw his remarks, I proceed to state the internal textual evidence from Gauḍapāda's commentary on the *Uttara-Gītā*. And in so doing, I do hope that my present discovery of a reference in it to the *Bhāgavata*, would not compel the learned Doctor to change the date he has so generously ascribed to this *Vṛtti*. Now, Gauḍapāda is found to refer to the *Bhāgavata* by name and quote a hemistich therefrom in the course of his commentary on II, 46 of his original :—

तदुक्तं भागवते :—

तेषामसुक्तेषु एव शिष्यते

नान्यद्यथास्थूलतुषावघातिनाम् ॥

which is to be identified² as the second hemistich in :

श्रेयःसृतिं भक्तिमुदस्य ते विभो

ह्रियन्ति ये केवलबोधलब्धये ।

तेषामसौ क्लेशल एव शिष्यते

नान्यद्यथा स्थूलतुषावघातिनाम् ॥

Bhāgavata X, 14, 4.

Gauḍapāda having flourished in the 7th century A. D., it follows that our *Purāṇa* is much earlier than his date.

This is further supported by the occurrence of two verses of the *Bhāgavata* as quotations from an unnamed source in the *Māṭhara Vṛtti* regarded as the original of the *Gauḍapāda Vṛtti* on the *Sāṅkhya Kārikās* of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. The *Māṭhara Vṛtti* has :—

यथा पङ्केन पङ्काम्भः सुरया वा सुराकृतं ।

श्रुतहत्यां तथैवेमां न यज्ञैर्मातृमर्हति³ ॥

(under *Kārikā* 2)

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1. Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta, 1925, p. 189,
 2. I cannot adequately record my thanks to Śrīyut Bhārata Simha Pandit Khāpe Rāmoandracārya of Kumbakonam, whose astonishing erudition in the Epic and the *Bhāgavata* is absolutely matchless to-day in India among the Pandit world, for so kindly giving me the exact location of the hemistich from Gauḍapāda in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.
 3. The verse extols Abhiṁsā doctrine and hence is quoted by Māṭhara under *Kārikā* 2 which censures Vedic sacrifices.

which corresponds to

यथापक्वेन पङ्काम्भः सुरया वा सुराकृतं ।
भूतहृत्या तथैवेकां न यज्ञैर्मर्षिमर्हति ॥

Bhāgavata i, 8, 52.

Again, Māthara has under *Sāṃkhya-Kārikā* 51 :—

एष आतुरचित्तानां मात्रास्पर्शेच्छया विभुः³ ।
भवसिन्धुप्लवोदष्टः यदाचार्यानुवर्तनम् ॥

which corresponds to :—

एतद्व्यातुरचित्तानां मात्रास्पर्शेच्छया मुहुः ।
भवसिन्धुप्लवो दष्टः हरिचर्यानुवर्णनम् ॥

Bhāgavata i, 6, 35.

The *Māthara Vṛtti* is known to have been translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between 557-569 A. D. and is safely assumed to be as early as 450 Samvat. I must, however, state that noting corresponding to the verses in question occur in Paramārtha's work, retranslated into French by Dr. Takakusu and now finally rendered into English by Prof S. S. Suryanarayana Shastri.⁴ But this does not, in the least invalidate my claim of the antiquity of the verses forming part of the text of Māthara ; for, it is freely admitted that Paramārtha's was not a strictly literal and faithful translation of Māthara ; and consequently, the non-occurrence of particular verses or passages of the original in the translation need not surprise or unnerve us overmuch.

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1. The reading in the second half in Māthara agrees not with that of Śrīdhara. Vijayadhvaṇi has तथैवेतां० and तथैवेमां० in the place of तथैवेकां० of Śrīdhara.
 2. Vijayadhvaṇi has न यज्ञो ।
 3. मुहुः in *Bhāgavata* for विभुः is the more satisfactory reading. The verse as it occurs in Māthara, thus, seems to be rather corrupted.
 4. Long before Prof. Sastrī began his translation from the French, he was kind enough to read and translate to me the relevant portion from the French translation in the B. F. E. O. with a view to seeing if anything corresponding to the verses in question could be found therein. We found of course, that there was nothing. My thanks are due in a special manner to Prof. Sastrī for his ready help.
- 8 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

The evidences so far adduced would show therefore that the *Bhāgavata Purāna* was well-known in the 10th century (having been composed, obviously, some centuries earlier); was extant in the 7th century ; was not unknown in the 6th century ; and might very well, therefore, have been composed about the 5th century A. D. if not earlier still. The mention of the *Bhāgavata* in a list of Purānas in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*¹ (from which it was quoted to Alberuni), also confirms the antiquity of the work. No claim is, however, made that the *Śrī Bhāgavata* always existed in its present form.

1. ब्राह्मं पादं वैष्णवं च शैवं भागवतं तथा—(ii, 6, 2).

SUTTEE

BY

MISS SAKUNTALA RAO, M. A., CALCUTTA

Suttee (*satī*) was the practice of cremating a widow on the pyre of her dead husband. The custom certainly prevailed from mediæval times onwards till it was abolished by Lord William Bentinck in 1829. It was in great vogue amongst the higher castes of the Hindus who followed the Brahmanical religion. The practice does not seem to have been in evidence among the Jains. Sikhism certainly condemned it. Nevertheless, we learn from the narrative of Honigberger that in the year 1839 when Ranjit Singh died, several of his widows were burnt. Our object here is to trace the history of this custom so far at any rate as India is concerned. We know that the universal usage of the primitive age compelled a widow either to be the wife of her husband's brother or his near kinsman, or, if she was of the ruling rank, to be immolated, along with his concubines, slaves, steeds and so forth at his tomb in order to preserve his dignity in the next world. Here we have to see whether either or both of these motives were in force in ancient India. The first leads to the exact opposite of *satī*, because the widowed wife is married to a near relative and is thus not allowed to immolate herself. The second motive manifests itself in an act which has received the name of *anumarāṇa*. In this case, it is not only the wife or wives, but all the friends, slaves and horses who are immolated, in order that they may contribute to the happiness of the departed in the next world. Where the wives alone burnt themselves, it became the *satī* rite, which is thus only one instance of *anumarāṇa*.

Let us, in the first place, turn our attention to the Vedic period and see whether the practice of *satī* was then prevalent. There is a verse in the *R̥g-Veda*¹ which also occurs in

1. *R̥g-Veda*, X. 18. 8.

the Atharva-Veda,¹ but its meaning is rendered clear only when it is considered along with the verse preceding it in the Atharva-Veda. We will, therefore, consider both these verses from this latter Veda. The late Professor Whitney² translated them thus :-

“This woman, choosing her husband’s world, lies down by thee that art departed, O mortal, continuing to keep (her) ancient duty (Dharma); to her assign thou here progeny and property.”

“Go up, O woman, to the world of the living; thou liest by (*upā-sī*) this one who is deceased; come to him who grasps thy hand, thy second spouse (*didhīsu*); thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband.”

It is worthy of note that there are no verses in any Veda bearing upon the course of life a widow has to follow. And it will be seen from the passages just quoted that in Vedic times the widow was made to ascend the funeral pyre of her departed husband and afterwards brought back home by the husband’s brother or near kinsman. There is no question here of widow-burning even in a symbolic manner. It has been stated above that according to the world-wide primitive usage the widow was forced either to be the partner of her deceased husband’s immediate relative or to ascend the funeral pyre and burn herself. The latter custom, which is really the *satī* practice, does not thus seem to have been prevalent amongst the Vedic Aryans.

We must not, however, think that the Vedic literature represented the whole life of India. There were many types of tribes and people settled in different parts of the country, even in the Vedic period, who had not imbibed Vedic culture and religion. It is quite possible to imagine that *satī* was prevalent in India, if not among the Vedic, at any rate among some of the non-Vedic peoples of the age. How else are we to understand the celebrated passage from the *Mahābhārata* which depicts the dialogue between Kuntī

1. *Atharva-Veda*, XVIII. 3. 2.

2. Whitney’s English translation of the *Atharva-Veda Samhitā* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 18).

and Mādri as to who will burn herself on the funeral pyre of their departed husband Pāṇḍu.¹

Pāṇḍu, we know, died in the arms of his younger wife; and, as soon as he passed away, Kuntī said: "I am the elder of his wedded wives; the chief religious merit must be mine. Therefore, O Mādri, prevent me not from achieving that which must be achieved. I must follow our lord to the region of the dead. Rise up, O Mādri, and yield me his body. Rear thou these children." Mādri replied, saying:—"I do clasp our lord yet and have not allowed him to depart; therefore, I shall follow him. My appetite hath not been appeased. Thou art my elder sister. O, let me have thy sanction. Thereupon Mādri consigned her two sons to the care of Kuntī, and immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. This is a clear instance of *satī*, and the motive which prompted Mādri to this step also deserves to be noticed. Pāṇḍu had approached her out of desire and died, and she had therefore to go to the other world to satisfy his carnal desire.

There is one more instance of *satī* forthcoming from the *Mahābhārata*,² where the four wives of Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa, are represented to have ascended the funeral pyre and consumed themselves with the body of their lord. These are the only two instances known from the *Mahābhārata*. Though these are only two cases, they should not be considered to be solitary instances of their kind. The Greek historians who have written about India testify to the prevalence there of the *satī* custom shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Strabo quotes the authority of Aristoboulos, as saying (when referring to customs existing at Taxila): "The custom of having many wives prevails here, and is common among other races. He says that he had heard from some persons of wives burning themselves along with their deceased husbands and doing so gladly; and that those women who refused to burn themselves were held in disgrace. The same things have been stated by other writers".³ Among the

1. *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, Ch. 126; Sts. 25-26.

2. *Mahābhārata*, *Mausalaparva*, XVII. 7. 18-24.

3. J. W. M'Crimble's *Ancient India*, p. 69.

'other writers' referred to by Strabo may be mentioned Diodorus, who says that among the Kathians it was the custom for widows to be burned along with their husbands. He pointed out, however, that an exception was made for women with child or with a family. Otherwise, if she did not comply with this custom she was compelled to remain a widow for the rest of her life, and to take no part in the sacrifices or other rites, as being an impious person.¹

It is quite possible to think that the testimony of Greek writers in support of the prevalence of *satī* related only to the Panjab and especially to such tribes in that region as the Kathians who had not assimilated Vedic culture. Similarly it may be argued that the two instances of *satī* supplied by the *Mahābhārata*, as against many where the widowed wives of princes did not burn themselves, indicate but a feeble survival of the pre-Vedic custom of *satī*, so that our main conclusion remains unassailable, namely that the Vedic practice compelled a widow not to immolate herself on the pyre of her deceased lord, but rather marry his nearest relative. Even the *Dharmasūtra*² of Gautama, which is looked upon as the earliest law-book, says:

"A woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law."

"(On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by (cohabiting with) a Sapiṇḍa, a Sagotra, a Samāna-pravara, or one who belongs to the same caste."

"Some (declare that she shall cohabit) with nobody but a brother-in-law".

It will be seen that what is enjoined by Gautama is practically identical with the custom prevalent in the Vedic period. Gautama, being the earliest law-giver, has been assigned to the 7th century, B. C. We may, therefore, assume that until that time the practice of a widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her husband was not sanctioned by law. Things, however, began to change

1. Ibid., pp. 69-70, n 3.

2. XVIII. 4. 6, 7.

pretty quickly, for the next earliest law-book on the subject, namely, that of Baudhāyana¹, lays down the following —

“A widow shall avoid during a year (the use of) honey, meat, spirituous liquor, and salt, and sleep on the ground. Maudgalya (declares that she shall do so) during six months.

“After (the expiration of) that (time) she may, with the permission of her Gurus, bear a son to her brother-in-law, in case she has no son.”

Vasistha² was not much later than Baudhāyana. He says : “The widow of a deceased person shall sleep on the ground during six months, practising religious vows and abstaining from pungent condiments and salt. After the completion of six months, she shall bathe, and offer a funeral oblation to her husband. (Then) her father or her brother shall assemble the Gurus who taught or sacrificed (for the deceased) and his relatives, and shall appoint her (to raise issue to her deceased husband.)”

It is scarcely necessary to remark that Baudhāyana and Vasistha are in substantial agreement with each other. They, however, differ from Gautama in one material point. Because, the latter nowhere lays down any kind of asceticism for any length of time for a widow. We have, thus, to notice a new element introduced into the life of a woman who has lost her husband. For, Baudhāyana and Vasistha enjoin ascetic practices on her for six months or one year, and require her to offer oblations to her departed husband before she can be permitted to live with another man.

The age during which Buddha and Mahāvīra flourished was noted for asceticism of a rigorous type. We have only to read the Buddhist and Jaina literature referring to the life-time of these teachers to be convinced of the correctness of this conclusion, which receives a remarkable confirmation also from the Brahmanical literature. It seems that asceticism was, as it were, in the

1. *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana, II. 1. 2, 4, 7-9.

2. *Dharmasūtra* of Vasiṣṭha, XVII. 55-56.

air at that time. It is, therefore, no wonder if we find temporary asceticism enjoined upon a widow by Baudhāyana and Vasistha on the immediate death of her husband. Although these law-givers have introduced an element of asceticism in the life of a widow, we have to note that it is only for a short period; and they allowed the widow, after the expiry of this period, to live with a near kinsman, as is also enjoined by Gautama. But the system of *niyoga*, or cohabitation of a widow with her younger brother-in-law or near kinsman appears to have become extinct soon after the compilation of the *Dharmasūtra* of Vasistha, and what remained thereafter was the ascetic practices just referred to. It is therefore not a matter of surprise if the later law-givers such as Manu and Yājñavalkya lay down a life-long asceticism for a woman on the death of her husband. Thus Manu¹ says :—

“At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots and fruits; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died.”

“A virtuous wife, who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she has no son, just like those chaste men (*Brahmacāris*).”

“But a woman who, from a desire to have offspring, violates her duty towards her (deceased) husband, brings on herself disgrace in this world and loses her place with her husband (in heaven).”

These verses clearly show that Manu does not allow the cohabitation of a widow with any man, even though she has no offspring. These are perhaps later insertions, as they conflict with Manu, IX. 59-61, where *niyoga* is permitted in such cases for raising one or, at the most, two sons according to the custom. Yājñavalkya² has the following :—

“She who does not go to another (man), whether her husband is living or dead, attains fame here and rejoices with Umā.”

1. *Manu-Saṃhitā*, V. 157, 160-161.

2. *Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā*, I. 75.

The last redaction of the *Manu-samhitā* has been placed by Bühler between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. We, therefore, see that about the beginning of the Christian era the custom of *niyoga* was falling into desuetude, and a woman, on the death of her husband, is exhorted to practice life-long asceticism. Be it, however, noted here, that there is not even a least reference to the self-immolation of a widow, whether in the text of Manu or of Yājñavalkya. Things, however, seem to have considerably altered soon after the advent of the Gupta power. Thus the *Viṣṇu*¹, which was compiled after the fourth century A. D., says that one of the duties of a woman is, "after the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity (*brahmacarya*), or to ascend the pile after him".

Similarly the law-book of Brhaspati², which has been assigned to the sixth or seventh century A. D., lays down the following:-

"A wife is considered half the body of her husband, equally sharing the result of his good or wicked deeds; whether she ascends the pile after him, or chooses to survive him leading a virtuous life, she promotes the welfare of her husband."

It will be seen that, though both Visnu and Brhaspati allow a widow to lead a life of virtue and asceticism, they prescribe an alternative course of action also, viz., that she may ascend his funeral pile. These are the earliest instances of *Smṛti* referring to the practice of *satī* by a widow. We have noted that *satī* was practised even in very early periods, among tribes and races who had not imbibed Vedic culture. But no text from any *Śruti* or even *Smṛti* before the 5th Century A. D. is forthcoming to show that this rite was sanctioned by sacred law. It is only when we come to the period of the *Viṣṇu* and the *Brhaspati Smṛti* that we, for the first time, note that *satī* was allowed by Hindu law. But even here *satī* has been prescribed as an alternative course of action for a woman after the demise of her husband. In this connection, we have to take note of what the *Parāśara-samhitā*³ says

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1. *The Institutes of Viṣṇu*, XXXV. 14.
 2. *The Laws of Brhaspati*, XXV, 11.
 3. *Parāśara Samhitā*, *Prāyaścittakāṇḍam*, verse 30.

about the course of life to be led by a widow. It contains four verses on the subject, representative of three different ages. It seems the first of these belongs to the original text of the *Smṛti* and the others were added, each in course of time to suit the circumstances. The first of these may be translated as follows:—

“When the husband of a woman has disappeared, is dead, has turned a recluse, is impotent or has been excommunicated, under these five calamities another husband is permitted to women.”

It will be seen that Parāśara takes a far more sympathetic view of the condition of a woman than Manu or even the *Sūtra-kāras*. Manu, as we have just seen, inclines more to a life of asceticism for woman than marriage through *nīyoga* after the death of her husband. The earliest and most liberal of the *Sūtra-kāras* is Gautama, who allows a woman to marry another man after the demise of her husband, without waiting for any length of time or without prescribing any kind of asceticism for any period. He thus allows a woman to marry soon after her husband is dead, but Parāśara permits her a second marriage not only when the husband is dead, but also when he has disappeared, nay, even when he is known to be living, provided he has become a recluse or an outcast or impotent. This certainly points to a state of society which was far anterior to that of the *Manu-Smṛti*, though perhaps, not to that of the *Dharmasūtra* period. Things however changed, and provision had to be made in conformity with the altered conditions. This explains why we have the second of the four verses in the *Parāśara-Saṁhitā*¹. It may be rendered as follows:—

“That woman, who, when the husband is dead, performs the vow of chastity (*brahmacarya*), attains to heaven after death like the *Brahmacāris*.”

This is an exact replica of Manu, V. 160, which we have translated above, and the full significance of which we have also discussed before. We shall, therefore, not be far from right if we maintain that this verse came to be inserted in the *Parāśara-saṁhitā* soon after the compilation of the *Manu-Smṛti*. We have

1. *Parāśara Saṁhitā*, *Prāyaścittakāṇḍam*, verse 31.

now to consider the remaining two verses from Parāśara,¹ which represent a condition of society of a much later period. They may be translated thus :—

“She who follows her husband will abide in heaven for as much time as there are hairs on a human being, that is, three thousand crores and a half.”

“As a snake-catcher takes out a snake from a hole by force, in the same manner the wife (who immolates herself), taking out her husband (from hell), enjoys (heavenly bliss) with him.”

These verses show that by self-immolation a woman not only dwells in heaven herself, but raises up her husband also from hell. This shows that they came to be inserted when the *anumarana* of a widow was in full swing and was considered to be vastly superior even to a life of asceticism, such as that prescribed as an alternative course by the *Viṣṇu* and *Brhaspati Smṛtis*. When exactly these last two verses were inserted into the *Parāśara*, it is difficult to say. We have noticed above that verse 2 is an almost exact replica of *Manu*, IX. 76. Now, in regard to the last two verses, they are found with a slightly different phraseology in other *Smṛtis*. *Vijñāneśvara*³, who commented upon the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, attributes them to Śaṅkhāṅgīrasa, who seem to be the joint authors of some *Smṛti*. Mādhavācārya, who wrote a commentary on *Parāśara*, traces the first of these to the *Hārīta* and the second to the *Vyāsa Smṛti*. It is difficult to say who copied from whom. It appears, however, that these two verses were incorporated into *Parāśara* after the model of Āṅgīrasa or Śaṅkhāṅgīrasa, for Medhātithi, a commentator on *Manu-Smṛti*, refers to and condemns the practice of *anumarana* allowed by Āṅgīrasas³. But he does not refer to *Parāśara* at all, although practically the same verses occur there. On the other hand, Medhātithi refers to *Parāśara* in his gloss on *Manu*⁴ in connection with the permission of

1. *Parāśara-Saṁhitā*, *Prāyaścittakāṇḍam*, verses 32, 33.

2. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (Nirṇayasāgara Press), *Ācārādhyāyaḥ-Vivāhakaṇḍam*, verse 86.

3. *Manu-Saṁhitā*, V. 157.

4. *Manu-Saṁhitā*, IX. 76,

marriage to a woman under the five well-known calamities. This shows that the verses in Parāśara connected with *anumarāṇa* were not in the text of that *Smṛti* which was extant before Medhātithi, and came to be inserted later on in imitation of Āṅgīrasa, with a view to sanction a new practice that was coming into force in society.

Now Medhātithi has been assigned by Bühler to the 9th century A. D.¹ Evidently Āṅgīrasa and Smṛtikāras of his ilk must have lived before that time. The practice of *satī* must have come into vogue also before that time, and it was doubtless gaining ascendancy over the custom of life-long asceticism recommended by the previous law-givers. Of course, *satī* has not established itself completely, as we have seen that it has been condemned in no uncertain terms as an act of suicide by Medhātithi himself. He has, no doubt, in this connection referred to the view of Āṅgīrasa which allows *anumarāṇa*; but he says that it is not an obligatory act, that is to say, it is not that it must be done. In his opinion it stands on the same footing as the performance of the *śyena* sacrifice allowed by the Vedic text: "One may kill living beings by means of *śyena* sacrifice." The Vedic text, no doubt, makes the performance of this sacrifice possible, but only for an individual who is blinded by extreme hatred (द्वेष) for creature life. This act can in no way be regarded, says Medhātithi, as *dharma* (a meritorious act). Similarly, the widow who is bent upon experiencing the consequences ensuing from this act of suicide, viz. *anumarāṇa*, can disobey the prohibition of it and put an end to her life. But in so doing she cannot be considered as acting according to the scriptures. Further, continues Medhātithi, we have the distinct Vedic text - "One shall not die before the span of one's life is run out," which is in contradiction to the *Smṛti* text of Āṅgīrasa. We have, therefore, to interpret Āṅgīrasa in such a way as to show that his statement is not in conflict with the Vedic injunction. This we can do only by supposing that Āṅgīrasa allows *anumarāṇa* to a widow under special circumstances. Supposing that a widow is childless, has not inherited any property, has to toil and moil for her livelihood, does not wish to marry again;

1. *The Laws of Manu* (Sacred Books of the East Series). Intro. p. CVII.

supposing that she is placed under conditions of abnormal distress, where transgressions are permissible, as was the case with Viśvāmītra when he partook of the dog's thigh, a widow can undergo *anumarāṇa*. This act, though it is suicide, may be condoned as a transgression pardonable in times of distress.

Hindu society seems to have changed pretty fast after Medhātithi wrote, for Hindu law was being differently explained about the middle of the 11th century, when Vijñāneśvara flourished in the court of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya and composed his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*. He was followed in the 14th century by Mādhavācārya, who wrote a gloss on the *Parāśara-saṁhitā* and lived in the reigns of Bukka and Harihara of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Both unite in eulogising the practice of *sati* and holding it up as the ideal for a widow. One may feel curious and ask in this connection how these commentators slur over the Vedic text quoted above: "One shall not die before the span of one's life is run out". Mādhavācārya explains it away in this manner: "The *Smṛti* text relating to *anumarāṇa* remains forceful, otherwise it has no scope (for action). The *Śruti* text relating to self-destruction has, indeed, scope everywhere except in the case of women desirous of heaven". This means that the *Śruti* text forbidding suicide is not to be given a first and universal application, as a *Śruti* text deserves, and as has been done by Medhātithi, but its scope is to be limited by the *Smṛti* text, which has to be given its full scope first, leaving the *Śruti* text to be applied only where it is not covered by the former.

Medhātithi did not look upon *anumarāṇa* as a *dharma* or meritorious act at all, and tolerated it only as a transgression in times of distress. On the other hand, Vijñāneśvara and Mādhavācārya regard *anumarāṇa* as a *Dharma* and not as an act of suicide. Hence they argued that the suicide prohibited by the *Śruti* text was to be considered suicide in all cases except in that of self-destruction by a widow. The whole mental vision thus seems to have changed between the time when Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara wrote, that is, between the 9th and the 11th century A. D.

That the mental vision had completely altered during this period may be inferred from another consideration also. Paṭh-

nasī, a Smṛtikāra, who seems to be earlier than Āṅgīrasa, says:—
 “By the order of Brahmā, a Brāhmaṇa woman is not to follow the dead (husband). But among other castes this is laid down as the best duty of a woman”.

Similarly, if Āṅgīrasa allowed *anumarāṇa*, he allowed it only in the case of non-Brāhmaṇa woman. This text of Āṅgīrasa also has been quoted by Mādhavācārya, which may be rendered as follows:—

“A woman of the Brāhmaṇa caste (who) follows her dead husband does not, on account of suicide, lead either herself or her husband to heaven”.

Many more texts have been adduced to by Mādhavācārya in this connection; but the two texts adverted to above have also been quoted by Vijñāneśvara. Both these commentators explain them by remarking that the prohibition in this case relates to the ascending of a separate pile, that is to say, a Brāhmaṇa woman shall not immolate herself with her husband on the same pile. And in support of their position they quote a text from Uśanas:¹ “A Brāhmaṇa woman should not die by ascending a separate pile”. It seems that from the 11th century onwards the *satī* rite became such a rage that even Brāhmaṇa widows were not spared, although they were originally exempted.

It may now be asked, when and how came this *satī* rite to be introduced and enforced in India? The evidence marshalled above shows that the custom was entirely non-existent in the early Hindu society. The Vedic practice was that of a widow marrying her dead husband's younger brother. In the *sūtra* period she was allowed to marry any near kinsman. The earliest *Dharma-sūtra* (Gautama) did not prescribe any ascetic practice, while the later (Baudhāyana and Vāśīṣṭha) enjoined ascetic practices for a short period only. Later on, however, this asceticism alone remained and became life-long. This was the characteristic of the period between the 2nd century B. C. and the 4th century A. D.,

1. *Parāśara Saṃhita, Prāyaścittakāṇḍam*, verse 33.

when the *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* were compiled. But there is absolutely no mention of the *sati* rite in any one of these works. Later on, however, we find this rite prescribed for a widow but only as an alternative to life-long asceticism. This is clear even from a superficial study of the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, which were compiled between the 5th and 9th centuries A. D. Soon after that Hindu society was completely revolutionised, and we find new *Smṛtis* and new commentaries holding up *sati* as the ideal for a widow in comparison with life-long asceticism. The latter is no doubt mentioned by them, but only just mentioned, and that incidentally. *Sati*, on the other hand was speciallyalogised, and celestial felicity of the highest type was promised to the widow who immolated herself. In fact, she was believed to raise her dead husband even from hell and make him a participant of her heavenly bliss. The period, however, between the 5th and 9th centuries was a period of transition. The practice of *sati* was, no doubt, gaining ascendancy; but authors and scholars were not wanting who condemned it. Such was Medhātithi, and we have already seen in what way exactly he has condemned it. He was, however, a scholiast and probably belonged to one school of law. This was not, however, the case with the poet Bāṇa, who flourished in the 7th century A. D. and was a protege of Harsavardhana, the supreme ruler of northern India. His views on the subject have been embodied in a characteristic passage of the *Kādambarī*,¹ which has already attracted attention in various quarters. The passage may be rendered as follows —

“This (practice), namely *anumaraṇa*, is utterly fruitless. This is a path followed by the illiterate, this is a manifestation of infatuation, this is a course of ignorance, this is an act of foolhardiness, this is short-sightedness, this is a stumbling through stupidity, viz., that life is put an end to when a parent, brother, friend or husband is dead. Life should not be ended if it does not leave (one) of itself. If the matter is (properly) considered, this suicide has, indeed, a selfish object, inasmuch as it is intended to arrest the unendurable pain of bereavement. But it brings no good

1. *Kādambarī*, edited by Kashinath Pandurang Parab (Nirnayasagara Press, 1890), *Pūrva Bhāga*, pp. 338-9.

whatsoever to the deceased. Certainly it is not a means of reviving him (i. e., the deceased), nor does it cause any augmentation of religious merit, nor is it a means to attain to a world of bliss, nor does it prevent falling into hell, nor is it a means of meeting (the deceased), nor does it lead to mutual communion. One (of these), not being master of himself, is carried to an altogether different world, acquired as a fruit of his KARMAN. This other (person) is merely conjoined with the sin of suicide. If the person survives, (he or she) can do much good to the deceased and to (himself or herself); but if the person dies, (he or she) can do good to neither."

The above is one of the most interesting passages in Sanskrit literature, and throws a flood of light upon the period when it was written. The first and foremost point that strikes us on reading it is that it was not merely *satī*, but general *anumarana* that was prevalent in India when Bāna wrote. It is not merely the case of a woman following her dead husband as *satī* that we have to note here. But curiously enough we find that on the demise of a father, brother or friend, his sons or daughters, his brothers or sisters and his or her friends immolated themselves. Such a thing is unheard of, no instance of it being known from Indian literature, secular or sacred, prior to the time of Bāna. As we shall see later on, instances of this general *anumarana* are by no means lacking in inscriptions and chronicles of later period. But it can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that such a custom was unknown to India before Bāna flourished.

The second point that engages our attention is that Bāna passes the same verdict on *satī* that has been passed by Medhātithi, viz., that it is an act of suicide. Thirdly Bāna asserts in the most unambiguous terms that this immolation does no good at all to the person concerned, because his destiny is already determined by his KARMAN while living on the earth.

It will be seen from the above resume that *satī* was mentioned for the first time in the *Viṣṇu-Smṛiti*, which was compiled soon after the 5th century A. D. It may now be asked whether we have any epigraphic evidence shedding light on the subject.

Memorial stelæ have been found in numbers in Rājapūtānā, called *devī*. These are small stone uprights, sometimes sculptured with figures and engraved with an inscription. They were erected in commemoration of the women, mostly of the Rājput race, who became *satī*, as is made clear by the words engraved. Many such have been found at Ghatiyālā in Jodhpur State, the earliest of which is dated (V. S. 947 = A. D. 890) and records that there was a Rājput chief called Rānuka whose wife Sampallā Devī followed him as *satī*.¹ Not far from Ghatiyālā is the village of Osia from which Jain Oswals are supposed to hail. This place is full of old memorial stones, the earliest of which is dated (V.S. 895=838 A.D.).² In fact, the whole of Rājapūtānā and Central India are full of such stelæ. The earliest of these, however, has been found at Eraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces. It is a small pillar bearing an inscription. It is dated G. E. 191 = 510 A. D., and belongs to the reign of a Gupta prince called Bhānu Gupta. The inscription records that Bhānu Gupta had a chieftain named Goparāja, who came apparently to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle in which he was killed, and that his wife cremated herself on his funeral pyre. We are thus on sure ground when we say that the practice of *satī* was coming into vogue about the beginning of the 6th century A. D.

There are, however, other features connected with the social revolution of this period that we shall now proceed to take into consideration. As we have just seen, Bāna has made a clear reference to various types of *anumarāṇa*, not merely of a widowed wife following her dead husband, but also relatives and friends following their dead relatives and friends. The annals of Kashmīr set forth some interesting instances of *anumarāṇa* which show clearly how different was the custom from what it was in the Gupta period. In these singular instances, we find *anumarāṇa* practised not only by a wife or wives, but also by concubines, slaves of the

1. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of I. W. C.*, 1906-7, p. 35, para 33; D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. No. 39.

2. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of I. W. C.* 1906-7, p. 87, para 37.

household, mother, nurse, man-servants, faithful friends and followers. So that the practice, as is evident from this chronicle, is the same as described or referred to by Bāṇa in the seventh century. But even in these a gradual change in the extent of the scope of the rite is to be noticed. The earliest of these occurs in the 10th century (902 A. D.), when on the death of king Śaṅkara-varman¹, his three queens, two maid-servants, and one male servant called Jayasimha burnt themselves on his death. The instance of *anumarāṇa* that is recorded next is the one that took place on the death of king Ananta² (1031 A. D.). After his death not only his queen, but two male servants, a litter-carrier, and a few female servants immolated themselves. The next instance of *anumarāṇa* that we notice is on the death of Kalaśa³ in 1089, when a concubine immolated herself along with the queens. Next comes the *anumarāṇa* of the queens of Malla⁴ (1089-1101). Here we see the sister-in-law of Malla, his two daughters-in-law, six female attendants, his mother and his nurse burning themselves, not with the body of Malla but in separate places. The first three of these evidently must have died to meet, not Malla, but his queen, in the next world. The last instance of *anumarāṇa* which we have to note occurred in the 12th century. Here we see only the four queens of Sussala⁵ following him on his death. This clearly indicates that the scope of *anumarāṇa* had gradually widened. Before Alexander's invasion of India *anumarāṇa* was co-extensive with *satī*, that is the self-immolation of a wife on the death of her husband. Not a single instance is known, from the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain literatures, of relatives (other than wives), friends and dependants of the deceased burning themselves on funeral pyres or on separate piles. The story related by the Kashmir chronicle in the above account repeated itself down to a very recent period. We have only to turn to the narrative written by a German traveller called Honigberger, who

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1. Kalhaṇa's *Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir*, Canto V, 226-7.
 2. Ibid., Canto VII, 481.
 3. Ibid., Canto VII, 724.
 4. Ibid., Canto VII, 1486-94.
 5. Ibid., Canto VIII, 1440.

was State physician to Mahārāja Ranjit Singh of the Panjab. Therein is preserved a graphic account of the *anumarāṇa* practised after the demise of this Indian ruler.

"The scene of this sad funeral where Maharajah Ranjit Singh was burned with his queens and slaves was a small garden attached to the fortress, where the body of the deceased Chief was brought on a board and placed on a huge pile. The queens of Maharajah came out of the Harem, surrounded by several of their attendants. The queens ascended the pile by means of a ladder amidst the chanting of sacred texts by the priests and the gentle beating of drums and sat at the head of the Chief. They were followed by the slaves of the household who sat at his feet. They were, then, covered with a thick mat over which oil was poured. The whole pyre was kindled in which the lives of all these people perished in a few moments".

The instances of *anumarāṇa* that we have been referred to already show that the custom existed at least in the north-western part of India. From the inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, it appears that it existed in the southern part of India also. Inscription No. 47 of the Honnai Taluq¹ records the death of the Kadamba ruler Tailapa, upon which his faithful follower and secretary, Bopanna, in accordance with the vow taken before the throne and "making good his word (given) for the occasion (*Vele vākyaṃ*)" sacrificed his life and "went to Svarga with Tailasa-deva". The incident is said to have occurred in 1130 A. D. A grant from the State seems to have been made to his family by the successor of the deceased as he had fulfilled his vow, from which it may be concluded that such public instances of self-sacrifice were rare, but were held in high esteem and hence encouraged by the authorities. Inscriptions Nos. 5 and 27 of Arkalgud Taluq² disclose the self-destruction of two persons on the death of their master, the Ganga king Nitimargga, who lived about 915 A. D. A faithful friend and follower, Racheya by name, immolated himself by entering the fire. No 27 discloses that one

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V.

Bābiyamma also entered the fire on the same occasion. This name seems to be that of a woman, perhaps his wife.

The inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* evidently refer to upright stones erected in honour of the departed, called *Vīraśāsana* or *Vīra-kal*. The sculpture on the pillars generally represented the deities worshipped by a particular family. Sometimes the persons who destroyed themselves in this heroic way were also depicted on the stones. This is evident from the following quotations referring to the pillar bearing inscription No. 112 of the Belur Taluq: "And on the pillar they became united with Laksmī and with Garuda¹". "The sculptures on the pillar point unmistakably to suicide, being all figures of men with swords cutting off their own arms and legs, and even their heads".² These sculptures disclose some striking instances of self-destruction where great heroism and strength of mind were displayed. The inscription³, which is dated 1220 A. D., states that on the death of king Ballāla, his minister and general, prince Kuvāra Lakṣma, who had been brought up by the king as his own son and was on intimate terms with him, destroyed himself at his death along with his wife Suggalā Devī. It can be conjectured from the description engraved on the pillar that the couple mounted the *Vīraśāsana* and cut their bodies limb by limb and thus immolated themselves. Inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 of the Kṛṣṇarājpet Taluq⁴ describe a similar act of self-immolation, where greater valour was displayed at the time of death. Here we find not only one or two persons immolating themselves, but a long train of faithful followers, comprising men and women, cutting their limbs and heads and mounted on the back of an elephant. The sculpture represents the self-destruction of the line of Nāyaka servants who were under some hereditary engagement to the Hoysalas. The record runs thus.— "Śivaneya Nāyaka with five of his servants, fulfilled his engagement (or vow) with Ballāla Deva. Lakkeya Nāyaka, with his wife Gangā Devī and three servants,

1. Ibid., Vol. V. Belur No. 112.

2. Ibid., Vol. V. Introduction, p. xxiii.

3. Ibid., Vol. V.

4. Ibid., Vol. IV.

fulfilled his engagement with Narasiṅga, son of Ballāla. In the Śaka year (specified = 1257 A. D.) Kanneya-Nāyaka with his wives Ummavve, Javanavve, and Kallavve, and with ten maid-servants and twenty-one men-servants, six times embraced Garuḍa on (or from) the head of an elephant and fulfilled his engagement with Someśvara-Deva (son of Narasiṅga.)" In the Śaka year (specified) Siṅgeya-Nāyaka, the son of Kanneya-Nāyaka, with his wives Ketavve, Honnave, Nachavve, and with ten maid-servants and twenty man-servants, on (or from) the head of an elephant six times embraced Garuḍa and fulfilled his engagement with Narasiṃha -Deva." Inscription No. 146 of the Kadur Taluq,¹ which records the death of Bamarasa on the battle-field in 1180 A. D., also describes the death of his follower Bammaya Nāyaka, who did it to win fame. A *vīra-kal* is said to have been erected to his memory by his son Hariyama Nāyaka.

The incidents quoted above refer to the death of a follower or a whole retinue on the death of a ruling chief or master. But Inscription No. 149 of Shikarpur Taluq,² dated 1185 A. D., describes the self-destruction of a man called Boka on the death of Lachchala Devī, the senior queen of the Cālukya king Someśvara Deva. The inscription describes the vow taken previously by Boka: "... .. fulfilling the vow he had previously uttered, saying 'I will die with the Devī', he died." The description of his death shows that he cut off his head with his own hands: "On the master calling him, saying, 'you are the brave man who with resolution has spoken of taking off your head', with no light courage Boka gave his head. while the world applauded saying, 'He did so at the very instant.' "

In all these instances it is explicit that a vow was taken previously, by the person or persons who immolated themselves and that it was fulfilled in all seriousness when the time came. The following account of a custom prevalent in India in the 11th century, found in Elliot's *History of India*,³ points to a similar custom :—

1, Ibid., Vol. VI.

2. Ibid., Vol. VII.

3. Elliot's *History of India*, I, 9.

"Some of the kings of India, when they ascend the throne have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to the king's person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him of their own free will without compulsion. When the king has eaten some of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who so eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies, or is slain, to burn themselves on the very day of the king's decease. This is a duty which admits of no delay, and not a vestige of these men ought to be left."

From the above instances it is clear that the *anumarana* prevalent in southern India is of a somewhat different type from the one prevalent in Kāshmir. In the former we see that an oath of allegiance was previously taken by the officers of the king or the ruler, according to which these persons had to immolate themselves. It was looked upon as a feat of chivalry in which great valour and strength of mind were displayed at their death. Sometimes a single individual immolated himself, and sometimes a whole retinue of men and women. Another noteworthy point about these is that the persons who immolated themselves were not related by any ties of blood, but by an oath of allegiance, whereas in the case of the Kāshmir Chronicle it was mostly the relatives who burnt themselves on the death of the chief, and if anyone not related to him died, it was not in accordance with any oath of allegiance taken solemnly before the king, but as a token of affection. Another feature common to both is the strong faith in life after death. It was the firm conviction that union with the deceased would be the certain result if they could discard the life here, that prompted them to self-immolation. In the Kāshmir Chronicle, queen Sūryamati's oath before she entered the flames corroborates this :—⁴

"In order to put a stop to the slanderous rumours which had grown up with regard to Haladhara's position as her confident, she, the Sati, took an oath in proper form, pledging (her happiness in a) future life."

1. Kalhana's *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Canto VII, 477.

Another striking point of resemblance is the similarity of the words *velā-vitta* and *velā-vākyam*. *Velā-vitta* is the word used for an officer of a king in the Kashmir Chronicle. In some instances we see the *velā-vitta* immolating himself at the death of his master. Jayasimha,¹ in the above instances, was one of this type. But there are references to *velā-vittas*² where they are not found killing themselves. When King Yaśaskara³ died, queen Trilokyadevi burnt herself and among the retinue who proved treacherous to the king is mentioned a *velā-vitta*. He is referred to along with the friends, relatives and servants of the king. A *velā-vitta* in favour with Queen Diddā, who was the ruler of her state for sometime, is mentioned in VI, 324.⁴ From these instances it is clear that the self-immolation of such a *velā-vitta* was optional, but it is not certain whether he had to take any oath beforehand; whereas *velā vākyam*, as has been stated above, meant the oath of allegiance taken before the throne. The two terms seem to be connected, but what the exact connection was, it is difficult to determine.

In the records of Southern India there is one striking instance of *anumāraṇa* which is uncommon to the soil of India. Usually, it was on the death of a man that a man or a woman immolated himself or herself. But it has never been recorded, at least in the case of Northern India, that anybody died on the death of a woman.⁵ Unlike this, in the records of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, is found an instance where an officer immolated himself on the death of a queen in accordance with the oath of allegiance taken previously, and his family was rewarded by her husband, the king, and the State.

1. Ibid., Canto V, 226.

2. Ibid., Canto VI, 73, 106, 127.

3. Ibid., Canto VI, 107.

4. Ibid., VI, 324.

5. In the *Arabian Nights* there is an instance of *anumāraṇa*, which is the reverse of what was in vogue in India. It is the case of the burial of a husband with his dead wife.

The two sets of instances recorded above happened about the same period in India, though in different parts of the country. There does not seem to be any sufficiently long interval of time between them to think that one was the gradual development of the other.

It is curious to note that among the Japanese a similar custom of self-immolation prevails. It is called the *harakiri*. By it is meant that a person killed himself in token of his loyalty to his master. It is attended by a ceremony. The underlying idea is the belief that he will be united with his master in the next world. Here, too, the person does not enter the fire but cuts his belly open in a certain fashion. The similarity is so striking that it is not improbable that this custom had its origin in Central Asia among the Mongolian tribes and was later on brought to India, where it developed in different parts of the country in different ways.

THE TWO BHĀGAVATAS

BY

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M. A.

It is well known that of the two Purāṇas— Devī Bhāgavata and Śrī Bhāgavata, the Śāktas and Vaisnavas claim that their own sectarian work is the real Mahāpurāṇa composed by Vyāsa and the other is a mere Upapurāṇa. In his introduction to the Devī-Bhāgavata, Nilakantha asserts that the authority of the Mātsya and Śaiva Purāṇas is in favour of the priority of Devī Bhāgavata. He quotes the following verses in support.

Bhagavatyāś ca Durgāyāś caritam yatra vidyate ।
Tattu Bhāgavatam prōktam na tu Devīpurāṇakam ॥
(Śaive-Madhyeśvara mātmye)

Here Devīpurāṇaka means the Upapurāṇa Kālikā Purāṇa.
yadidam Kālikākhyam tanmūlam Bhāgavatam smṛtam
(Hemādrau)

The chief characteristics of Bhāgavata are these enumerated in the Mātsya :—

यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं वर्ण्यते धर्मविस्तरः ।
वृत्रासुरबधोपेतं तद्भागवतमिष्यते ॥
सारस्वतस्य कल्पस्य मध्ये ये स्युर्नरामराः ।
तद्वृत्तान्तोद्भवं लोके तद्भागवतमिष्यते ॥

Purāṇāntare — हयग्रीवब्रह्मविद्या यत्र वृत्रबधस्तथा ।
गायत्र्या च समारम्भस्तद्वै भागवतं विदुः ॥

Thus the Bhāgavata is that work which commences with Gayatri and deals extensively with Dharma, and the story of the killing of Vrtra, in the Sārasvata kalpa, and Hayagrīva Brahma-vidyā. All these are only applicable to the Devī Bhāgavata which begins with this *mantra*.

सर्वचैतन्यरूपां तामाद्यां विद्यां च धीमहि ।
बुद्धिं या नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

It is true that the first verse of Śrī Bhāgavata beginning- "Janmā-dyasya yatōnvāyāditaratah" is explained as referring to Gāyatrī but the verse is not in Tripād Chandas and nowhere else in the whole of Śrī Bhāgavata do we find an extensive explanation of Gāyatrī. In the D. Bh.° on the other hand, two whole skandhas (x and xi) are devoted for the exposition of Gāyatrī and Dharma.

It is claimed that the Śrī Bh.° also deals with the story of Vrtra but therein it is said that Citraketu a Vaisnava, was cursed by Pārvatī and was born as Vrtra. The story in the D. Bh. (VI-4-15) however is nearer to the original Vedic story of Trīśiras and Tvastṛ. (Rg. I. 85-9.); also in the Taittirīya Samhitā (II. 5-I.)

“विश्वरूपो वे त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत् । स्वस्त्रीयः असुराणां ।

तस्य त्रीणे शोषाणि आसन्न्-सोमपानम् सुरापानम् अन्नादनम्” etc.

As regards the Hayagrīva story, the Śrī. Bh.° (V. Skandha) refers to it but does not account for the fact of Visnu possessing a horse's head, and it is not a Vidyā sacred to a Goddess. The severing of Visnu's head by gnawing away the string by *pipīlikās* as depicted in the D. Bh.°, is an improvement on the story of Makha. The Śatapatha and Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmanas (Ś. Br. xiv-1-1. 7 to 10; and Pa. Br. VII-5-6) assert that Makha's head being severed, flew up with the sound "Ghrāñ" and became either the *Gharma* or the sun's disk. The D. Bh.° goes further and transplants a horse's head on the trunk of Visnu.

The contention that only the Vaisnavapurānas are *Sāttvika* and the rest *Tāmasa* is of little value, as Śaiva purānas, ten in number, claim that they alone are *Sāttvika*. Further in the Śrī. Bh.° itself it is said that Vyāsa having failed to obtain peace of mind after composing the 17 purānas and the Mahābhārata composed the Bhāgavata at the instruction of Nārada. Thus in the Mātsya --

अष्टादशपुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ।

भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तद्गुप्यं हणम् ॥

And Pādme — वेदान्तानि च वेदाश्च मन्त्रास्तन्त्राणि संहिताः ।

दश सप्त पुराणानि षट्छास्त्राणि समाययुः

दश सप्त पुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ।

नासवान्मनसा तोषं भारतेनापि भामिनि ॥

चकार संहितामेतां श्रीमद्भागवतीं पराम् ।

Here only seventeen Purāṇas are mentioned before Bhārata. But the Mārkaṇḍeya - one of the eighteen is said to have been composed after the Bhārata. Kraustuki, dissatisfied with the Bhārata, came to Mārkaṇḍeya and heard the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa :-

तदिदं भारताख्यानं बह्वथ श्रुतिवस्तरम् ।

तन्वतो ज्ञातुकामोऽहम् भगवन्तमुपस्थितः ॥ etc.

finally in the Devī Bhāgavata --

तत्र भागवतं पुण्यं पञ्चमं वेदसंमितम् ।

कथितं यत्त्वया पूर्वं सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ (I-2-16).

The commentator explains that the Devī Bhāgavata, the fifth *Mahā-purāṇa* was composed after Brāhma, Pādma, Vaisṇava, Śaiva purāṇas. Hence the Devī Bhāgavata alone is the genuine Mahā-purāṇa and not the other.

Thus the Śāktas. From the critical view-point it must be admitted that the main bulk of the Devī Bhāgavata is very old. Pāṇini mentions the Śaiva Bhāgavatas who carried a triśūla (V-2-76.). The Tāntrikas claim that Śrī vidyā etc. are taught in the Vedic mantras themselves. Kauṭilya mentions the Goddess Caṇḍa-vāṭa who protected the crops and resided in seeds and wealth. She is probably the same as Śākambharī (whose shrine near Bādāmi is famous). If the commentaries of Mādhva and Nimbārka can be relied on, the Brahma Sūtras (II-2-42) criticise not the Pāñcarātra system but the Śākta cult, though Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja take the last prakaraṇa as referring to the Pāñcarātras. The Bhagavati cult in the Kerala country is of great antiquity, going back to the first century of the Christian Era. But it is to be noted that in the D. Bh.° no Kerala shrine in particular is mentioned. In fact, great prominence is given to Kāśī and Kāmākhya. The Durgā worship is said to have been started at Kāśī by Subāhu and thence spread all over India.

सुबाहुरपि काश्यां तु दुर्गायाः प्रतिमां शुभाम् कारयित्वा ॥

सर्वत्र भारते लोके सर्ववर्णेषु सर्वथा ।

भजनिया भवानी तु सर्वेषामभवत्तदा ॥

In the Vedic period, Kuru Pāñcāla was the sacred land and evidently Kāśī and Kosala along with Magadha was outside the

pale and probabaly the Avaidika Śaiva and Śākta cults prevailed there. The Śākyas before Buddha seem to have worshipped some Śākta Goddesses like Abhayā, Rāma devatā, Śrīgātaka devatā, Nityānu buddha, etc. ¹ Kāmākhyā is also spoken of as highly sacred to the Goddess in the D. Bh. (vii-38.) Though many southern shrines of the Devī are mentioned, yet the author seems to have been a northerner, even as the composer of Śrī Bh° was a Drāvida.

Coming to the text of the D. Bh.° we come across quotations from Manu, the Gītā etc. ² Of greater interest is the mention of Yājñavalkya as the author of a Dharma Śāstra.

यज्ञवल्क्यादयः सर्वे धर्मशास्त्रप्रवर्तकाः ।

भवितव्यं भवत्येव यद्येवं निश्चयः प्रभोः ॥ IV--21-12.

Similiarly the works of Kanāda, Gautama, Kanva, Pānini, Śakatāyana, Kātyāyana, Śātātapa, Samvarta, Vasistha, Parāśara (IX-4-25) are also mentioned. Hence it is clear that D. Bh.° cannot have been earlier than Yājñavalkya smṛti which mentions the *nāṇaka* ³ and was probabaly composed in the 3rd century A. D. About the other Smṛtikāras nothing is definitely known and their date cannot be fixed with certainty.

The D. Bh.° shows considerable knowledge of Advaita and employs such terms as *pañcīkarana*, *prāgabhāva*, *pradhīcmsābhāva*, etc. (III-6-27 ; III-7-43). But this does not necessarily mean that the work is later than Śamkara for nowhere it is said that Śamkara invented these terms anew. In the 9th Skandha (ix-4-25) the mode of worshipping the Goddess is said to have been taken from Kanva Śākhā. The commentator explains that it is not to be found in the current Kanva Śākhā and has been lost. Similarly in the Rudrayāmala and other works, Vasistha is said to have worshipped Buddheśvari according to the Atharvaveda

1. Avadāna Śataka I. p. 195 and Mahāvastu.

2. E. G. III-12-63 etc.

3. Kane, History of Dharma Śāstra, Vol I.

śākhā at Kāmākhyā. Also Kauthumōkta Haristuti is mentioned (D. Bh. IX-11.)

The D. Bh.^o mentions the following Mleccha tribes as occupying the Ganges valley.

गङ्गातीरे हि सर्वत्र वसन्ति नगराणि च
 व्रजाश्चैवाकरा ग्रामाः सर्वे खेटास्तथापरे ॥
 निषादानां निवासाश्च कैवर्तानां तथापरे ।
 हूणवङ्गखसानां च म्लेच्छानां दैत्यसत्तम ॥
 पिबन्ति सर्वदा गाङ्गं जलं ब्रह्मोपमं सदा ।
 स्नानं कुर्वन्ति दैत्येन्द्र त्रिकालं स्वेच्छया जनाः ॥ (IV-8-28)

The mention of the Hūnas on the banks of the Ganges indicates a later date than Skanda Gupta though not necessarily after the Muhammadan conquest. The sixth century probably saw the composition of the Devī Bhāgavata and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purānas. The original portion of the Śrī Bhāgavata seems to have been composed at a slightly later date in the sixth century, though Wilson and Grierson ascribe it to the 13th, Pargiter to the 9th, C. V. Vaidya to the 10th centuries. Vincent Smith held, that the Agni, Bhāgavata Mārkaṇḍeya and portions of Skanda were current even in the 7th century. Abhinava Gupta in his Gitā-bhāṣya quotes from the Śrī Bhāgavata. Pargiter ascribes the Mārkaṇḍeya to the sixth century, and it seems to us that the Devī-māhātmya contained therein, is drawn from the Devī Bhāgavata. The familiar verse

सर्वमङ्गलमाङ्गल्ये शिवे सर्वार्थसाधके ।
 शरण्ये त्र्यम्बके देवि नारायणि नमोस्तुते ॥

occurring both in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna (ch. 91. 3. 9. Devī-māhātmya x-v. 81-93) and in the Devī Bhāgavata (VIII-I-28) is reproduced in the Dadhimatī inscription of Druhlapa, dated G. E. 289 (A. D. 608.). The Goddess Dadhimatī is herself the Durgā whose figure was immersed in *dadhi* (curds) and worshipped according to the D. Bh.^o

The localities where the Devī was worshipped are mentioned in Skandha VII and the list of considerable interest. The places are :--

Vāranāśī	Varāhaśaila	Vipulā
Naimisā	Kamalālaya	Malayācala
Gandhamādāna	Rudrakōṭi	Sahyādri
Mānasa	Kālāñjara	Hariścandra
Viśvakāma	Śālagrāma	Rāmatīrtha
Gōmanta	Śivalinga	Yamunā
Caitraratha	Mahalinga	Kōṭṭīrtha
Hastināpura	Mākōta	Mādhavavana
Kanyakubjā	Māyāpurī	Gōdāvarī
Malayā	Samtāna	Gangādvāra
Ekāmraṁvīra	Gayā	Śivakunda
Viśvā	Purusōttama	R. Devikā
Puskara	Sahasrākṣa	Dvāravatī
Kedāra	Hiranyākṣa	Vrṇḍavana
Hemavat	Vipāśā	Citrakūta
Gōkarna	Puṇḍravardhana	Vindhya
Sthāneśvara	Supārśva	Karavīra
Bilvaka	Pinḍāraka	Vināyaka
Mahākālā	Acchōda	Vaidyanātha
Uśnatīrtha	Venā	Nepāla
Māndavya	Hemakūta	Cidambara
Maheśvarapurī	Kōlāpura	Vedāranya
Ohhagalanda	Mātuhpura	Ekāmbara
Amarakantaka	Tulajāpura	Cīna
Prabhāsa	Kāñcī	(Vaidyanātha)
Sarasvatī	Bhīmā	Kāmākhyā
Kiṣkindha	Vimalā	Candamundīsthāna
Kapālamōcana	Śrī Candralā	Nākula
Kāyāvarōhaṇa	Nīla Parvata	Kanakhala
Śrīśaila	Śrīnagara	Kuraṇḍala
Bhadreśvara	Trikūta	Gayā

Other countries¹ mentioned are — Karūsa, Madra, Sindhu, Māhismatī, Pāñcāla, Parvatīya, Kāmarūpa, Karnāta, Cōla,

1. For a list of place-names in the Śrī Bh. see I. A. 1887.

Vaidarbha and Kerala ; (III. 19 46 ff.). Mountains - Malaya, Maṅgala prastha, Maināka, Citrakūta, Rsabha, Kutaka, Kolla, Sahya, Devagiri, Rsyamūka, Śrīśaila, Vyaṅkata, (*Sic*), Mahendra, Gōvardhana, Nīlaparvata, Drōṇa, Citrakūta, Indrakila and Kāmāgiri - all these are in the south of the Vindhya. Rivers - Tāmraparnī, Candravaśā, Krtamālā, Vatōdakā, Vaihāyāsī, Kāverī, Venā, Payasvinī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kṛsnavenā, and Gōdāvarī - also in the South. (VIII-11-8 ff.). Also Puṇyabhadrā, Sarasvatī, Gomatī, (IX-22-16). Pañcadīpas are Kāśī, Kedāra, Mahākāla, Nāsika and Tryambaka (XI-16.). The Lōkālōka mountain range is supposed to surround the world.

Of these names several are very interesting. Karavīra or Kolā refers to Kolhapur where Mahālakṣmī resides. It was Suratha's capital and was destroyed by Mlecchas who were dwelling in the forests (parvatavāsinah, v. 32-5). The Goddess at Mākota was Makuteśvarī. The Makuteśvara Nātha temple at Mahākūta near Bādāmi was a very old even in the days of Mangalīśa, who at the request of Durlabhādevī made some grants to the God and renovated the temple. The Devī at Śrīśaila is called Mādhavī, though now she is called Bhramarāmbā. But the story of Bhramarā is also given in the D. Bh. (x. 13-99) At Kāñcī she is said to be Annapūrnā (not Kāmāksī) and at Cidambara (not Madurā) Mīnāksī.

The author of the D. Bh. mentions several Goddesses of the Mahāyāna pantheon. He especially mentions the Cīnamārga

दृश्यन्ते वैष्णवाः केचित् गाणपत्यास्तथापरे ॥

कापालिकाश्च निमगिरिता वल्कलधारिणः ॥

दिग्भ्वरास्तथा बौद्धाश्चावाका एवमादयः ॥

Also — तथा नीलसरस्वत्याः स्थानं चीनेषु विश्रुतम् (VII-38-13).

Similarly Chinnamastā, Ugratārā (a Tārā at Kiskindhā), Guhya Kālī in Nepal, are said to be the manifestations of the Devī.

The following different sects are described — Vāma, Kāpālīka, Kaulaka, Bhairavāgama, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Śakta, Gāṇa-

patya, Pāsupata, Digambaras, Saugatas, Cārvāka, Pāñcarātra, Vaikhānasa etc. (xi-1-30 ; xii-9-66ff ; vi-12-54 ; vii-39-27 etc.). Ganapati is also called Heramba and Gajavaktrā and is the full manifestation of Kṛṣṇa while Skanda is an *aṁśa* of Viṣṇu.

Ganeśāśca svayam Kṛṣṇaḥ Skando Viṣṇukulodbhavaḥ (ix-3-48) Gaṅgā is said to have sprung from the couple Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Gōlōka and went back to heaven when five thousand years of Kali had elapsed (ix-12-18) Ūrdhva pundra, the worship of Sālagrāma, Tulasī and Rādhā are strictly enjoined on Vaisnavas but tapta cakraṅkana is condemned. Since Śaṁkara in his *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* mentions Hari as residing in the sālagrāma, the worship of the stones from the Gandakī is older than the sixth century. Similarly the worship of Rādhā, though nowhere mentioned in the Śrī Bh.° or in Rāmānuja's works, could not have come into existence at once in the time of Nimbārka and Jayadeva of the *Gīta-Gōvinda*. It is indeed remarkable that fasting on the Ekādaśī day, worship of Tulasī and Śāligrāma and Śaṅkha which hold such a high place in Vaisnava worship are not at all mentioned in the Śrī Bhāgavata. The D. Bh.° similarly advocates the wearing of Rudrākṣa, and Bhasma, and fasting on the Śivarātri day for the Śāivas. (D. Bh. xi. and xii). The worship of Śakti in one of her five forms Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Durgā, Rādhā and Sāvitrī, is the duty of every one (D. Bh. IX-1-1.) as also the fasting on Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī, Rāmanavamī, Śivarātri and Sundays (IX-34-46.).

The D. Bh.° mentions week-days and asterisms beginning with Aśvinī and hence should be placed soon after Varāhamihira. As against the importance of Śvetadvīpa described in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, we have in the D. Bh.° a description of Manidvīpa from which the devotees of the Goddess do not return to the mortal world while those who go to Śvetadvīpa and Śivalōka are born again in Bhārata varṣa. (IX-29-35). The non-mention of the kings of the Gupta, Abhira and other dynasties in the chapter dealing with the genealogies of the Solar and Lunar lines in the D. Bh.° is in favour of the antiquity of this Purāṇa, while on the other hand the Śrī Bh.° has a chapter which is probably a later interpolation.

As regards interpolations in the D. Bh.^o Nilakantha at the end of his commentary mentions several verses which are Adhika.

To sum up, as between the two Bhāgavatas, the evidence seems to be in favour of the D. Bh.^o slightly anterior to the Śrī Bh.^o the latter being an Upapurāṇa (D. Bh. I. 3.), though it is not possible to place the work in its present form, before Mātsya which mentions the chief characteristics of the Bhāgavata, Matsya Purāṇas. The Śrī Bh.^o in the last skandha says that a Mahāpurāṇa should have ten chief characteristics while an *upapurāṇa* has only five. Amara does not seem to be aware of this distinction as he mentions only *pañca lakṣaṇas*, and possibly the Vaisnavas thus tried to exalt their own work on the expense of the earlier D. Bh.^o The Yōgamāyā episode mentioned in the Harivaṁśa (ch. 58) and in the Śrī Bh.^o (skandha X) seems to be an attempt to pay difference to the Devī cult which had already obtained a strong hold over the people especially over the Ābhīras, Śābaras Kirātas, etc. Any how it is quite clear that in the 9th century, the Bhagavati cult had spread far and wide, as among the Pratihāras of Kanauj Nāgabhaṭa and Śrī Bhōja I are said to have been *parama Bhagavati bhaktas*.¹ Thus it will be doing no violence to ascertained facts, if the composition of the main body of the Devī Bhāgavata is ascribed to the sixth century and the Śrī Bhāgavata to a slightly later date.

1. I. A. XV, pp. 140-141.

12 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

MISCELLANEA

LITERARY NOTES

BY

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I

THE SĀNDHIVIGRAHIKA CRITICISED BY ŚRĪ VIDYĀCAKRAVARTIN

Śrī Vidyācakravartin, in his Brhattikā called the Sampradāya Prakāśinī¹, on the Kāvya Prakāśa of Mammata refers to and criticises very strongly one Sāndhivigrahika six times.

1. Part I, p. 7. The Sāndhivigrahika interpreted the word 'Niyati' in the Maṅgala Śloka of Mammata as Karma and Vidyācakravartin who takes the word as नियामिका शक्तिः, criticises the Sāndhivigrahika that he would not have taken that word as Karma if he had only looked carefully at Mammata's own Vṛtti.

2. P. 12. The concluding words of Mammata's Vṛtti on his own Kārikā II, chap. I, viz. 'इति सर्वथा तत्र यतनीयम्' are taken by the Sāndhivigrahika as going not with the rest of the Vṛtti on Kārikā two but as going with the coming Kārikā. This, Vidyācakravartin criticises as being against exegetic rules.

3. Part II, p. 4. In the beginning of chapter six Mammata quotes the three verses of Bhāmaha beginning with रूपकादिमलंकारं बाह्यमाचक्षते परे. Vidyācakravartin says that the Sāndhivigrahika, unable to make out the correct meaning of these three Kārikās, ran away from them.

एतादृश कारिकास्वर्थं परिच्छेत्तुमपारयन् ।

पदे पदे पलायिष्ट सान्धिविग्रहिकः स्खलन् ॥

1. Triv. S. S. nos 88 and 100.

4. P. 289. The Sāndhivigrahika is here accused of not having understood Mammata's definition of the Apahnuti Alamkāra. Vidyācakravartin adds that, not only in many such individual cases, but in the whole of the tenth Ullāsa generally, the Sāndhivigrahika's interpretations are not correct and must not be taken as authoritative.

“नायं विशेषः सान्धिविग्रहिकेन चेतितः । एवमादिष्वलंकारेषु विशेषतः, सामान्यतस्त्वापरिसमाप्तेः दशमोल्लासे स न प्रमाणं । किं बहुना,

सन्त्येव तत्र तत्र स्वलितानि बहूनि सान्धिविग्रहिके ।

तदपि न दृष्टोऽस्माभिः सद्वाद्यतनेषु काव्यमीमांसुः ॥

सेयमलंकारमीमांसासूक्ष्मेक्षिका तेषामेव गोचरः, यैरेव अलंकारसर्वस्वं सुपारिशील्य विशेषाय काव्यप्रकाशहृदयं निज्जातं । अतस्सर्वस्वसंजीविन्यां अभिरतैः संप्रदायप्रकाशिन्यां भूयो भूयो अभिरन्तव्यं सचेतोभिः ॥”

5. P. 339. Mammata defines Svabhāvokti as the description of actions or appearance of children etc. which are by nature theirs – स्वक्रियारूपवर्णनं. The description of an action attributed to them by the fancy of the Poets – आरोपित – will not be Svabhāvokti. While thus explaining the significance of the word ‘Sva’ in Mammata's definition, Vidyācakravartin finds fault with the Sāndhivigrahika for not understanding the import of ‘Sva’ and for giving, consequently, a wrong illustration.

‘अत्र स्वक्रियारूपेति स्वशब्दार्थमचेतयमानेन सान्धिविग्रहिकेन
‘घृली + डिम्भाः’ इत्येतत् समारोपितक्रियारूपतया प्रत्युदाहरणमेव
उदाहरणत्वेन यद्दर्शितं तदुपहासमपि नार्हति ।’

6. P. 348. Concluding his commentary on the section on the Bhāvikālamkāra Vidyācakravartin says —

काव्यप्रकाशसूत्राणां व्याख्यादुद्ध्या विरोधितः ।

लिखिता रुचकग्रन्थाः सान्धिविग्रहिकेन धिक् ॥

The Bhāvika changed in the hands of Mammata slightly from what it was in Bhāmaha and Udbhata. Things attained the quality of ‘प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं’ which they did not have originally, by virtue of the poet's descriptive excellences called शब्दानाकुलता etc. This is Bhāvika according to Bhāmaha and Udbhata. But there are also descriptions by poets of things which have by nature the quality

of प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं. These also, like cases of Svabhāvokti, were taken by Mammata into the fold of Alamkāra first and then into the scope of the Bhāvika. So, to embrace both varieties viz. वर्णनया प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं and प्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यैव वर्णनं, Mammata cast off the adjuncts giving the means शब्दानाकुलता etc. and gave a wider definition of Bhāvika :

प्रत्यक्षा इव यत्रार्थाः क्रियन्ते भूतभाविनः ।

Ruyyāka, in his A. S. first follows the old writers Bhāmaha and Udbhata, taking the first variety only as Bhāvika. For, to become an Alamkāra, a thing must have some new beauty created in it by the poet's powers. Things of the past and future do not have the quality of being vivid to us now but that quality is infused in them by certain excellences possessed by the descriptive powers of the poet. So this first variety only can be called an Alamkāra. But, in the end, Ruyyaka comes to the second variety and says that that also can be taken as Alamkāra (i.e. as Bhāvikālamkāra) even as Svabhāvokti is taken as an Alamkāra. Ruyyaka here refers to and quotes Mammata's definition of the Bhāvika and reconciles the position of Mammata to that of Bhāmaha and Udbhata. ¹ Not realising these subtleties, and taking that Ruyyaka, like Bhāmaha and Udbhata, recognises only the first variety as Bhāvika, the Sāndhivigrahika in his commentary on the Bhāvika of Mammata, has pointed out that Mammata and Ruyyaka do not agree. Vide pp. 346-348. T. S. S. K. Pra. and pp. 182-3 Sarvasva. N. S. edn.

These are the six references to the Sāndhivigrahika in Vidyā Cakravartin's commentary on the K. Pra. From the sixth reference above given we definitely see that the Sāndhivigrahika is a commentator on Mammata. From the fourth reference given above, we come to know that the Sāndhivigrahika was a contemporary of Vidyā Cakravartin and that in his days, he was considered as the greatest Alamkārika. But Vidyā Cakravartin treats with contempt his interpretations. Now, who is this Sāndhivigrahika who is all throughout referred to only by this title of his, evidently for sarcasm, and not even once by his name ?

1. I have dealt with this Bhāvika and its history in a separate paper which will be published in the J. O. R. Madras.

Vidyā Cakravartin at the beginning of his commentary called *Samjivini* on the *Alamkāra Sarvasva*, which he mentions in the fourth reference given above, says —

अकृत यदलंकृतीनां सर्वस्वं सान्धिविग्रही तस्य । etc.

From this we learn that Ruyyaka was called also as *Sāndhivigrahika*. But one must not be misled into taking the *Sāndhivigrahika* criticised by Vidyā Cakravartin in his commentary on the *K. Pra.* as Ruyyaka. The fourth and the sixth references mention Ruyyaka, the author of *A. S.* separately as different from the writer who is called *Sāndhivigrahika*. It is said that the *Sāndhivigrahika* must have read more carefully Ruyyaka's work before he came to the *K. Pra.* Further, Vidyā Cakravartin came long after Ruyyaka and the *Sāndhivigrahika* was his contemporary. As the fourth reference shows Vidyā Cakravartin has the greatest respect for Ruyyaka and his work. He wrote a commentary on the *A. S.* of Ruyyaka or Rucaka called the *Samjivini*. I went through this *A. S. Samjivini*¹ and could not come across a single antagonistic line. No doubt Ruyyaka was a *Sāndhivigrahika* but he that is criticised in the *Sampradāya Prakāśini* is different. It shall be proved now that he is none-else than Viśvanātha, the author of the very well-known *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*.

Firstly, did Viśvanātha have the title '*Sāndhivigrahika*'? He had. Viśvanātha was born in a family of great scholars in Orissa and his ancestors held high offices under the king of Kalinga. His father, Candrasekhara, was chief minister, *Mahāmātra* or *Mahāpātra* and *Sāndhivigrahika*, minister for peace and war at the court of the king of Kalinga. So also Viśvanātha. (Vide P. V. Kane's Intro. to *S. D.* p. cxxii) Viśvanātha had the titles of *Mahāpātra* and *Sāndhivigrahika* as we see from the colophons to chapters 1 and 10 of his *S. D.*

Secondly, Viśvanātha wrote a commentary on the *K. Pra.* Vide *Vāmanācārya's K. Pra. Intro.* p. 25. Also P. V. Kane's Intro. to *S. D.* pp. cxxi-cxxii. The commentary is called *Kāvya Prakāśa Darpaṇa* and it was the last work of Viśvanātha.

1. Ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library.

Coming to Vidyā Cakravartin's criticisms, — we can confirm our conclusion by an examination of the S. D. on the subjects figuring in these criticisms. In the fifth reference given above, Vidyā Cakravartin says that Viśvanātha did not understand Mammata's definition of Svabhāvokti and illustrated it incorrectly. This criticism is incorrect and it is Vidyā Cakravartin who has not sufficiently understood Viśvanātha. The illustration for Svabhāvokti said to be given by Viśvanātha is *धलीधूसरतनवः* etc. a verse on children. It is Rudrata's own illustrative verse for Svabhāvokti. We cannot understand how such a beautiful portrayal of this natural sport of children can be called Āropita and thus not an instance of Svabhāvokti. Nor is it a fact that Viśvanātha does not emphasise the word 'Sva' in स्वक्रियारूप, for we see in his S. D.—

स्वभावोक्तिर्दुरुद्धार्यस्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम् ।

The sixth reference in the section on Bhāvika however very definitely helps us in our conclusion that the Sāndhivigrahika is only Viśvanātha. Vidyā Cakravartin here says that Viśvanātha pointed out some discrepancy between Mammata and Ruyyaka as regards the definition and nature of Bhāvika. This criticism is understandable for, as we see from his S. D., Viśvanātha accepts the position of Bhāmaha and Udbhata only which position Ruyyaka holds earlier but to which, laterly, Ruyyaka reconciles Mammata's position, by postulating two varieties of Bhāvika. Viśvanātha rejects Mammata's view and says that only the first case of creating by शब्दानाकुलता etc. the quality of प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं in objects of past and future is Bhāvika and not the second case in which the poet gives us a thing already having by nature the quality of प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं. Says he in the S. D. —

“अत्र प्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यैव वर्णनान्नायमलंकारः । वर्णनावशेन प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वस्यास्य स्वरूपत्वात् । यत्तुनरप्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यापि वर्णने प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं तत्रायमलंकारो भवितुं युक्तं । यथोदाहृते 'आसीदञ्जन' इत्यादौ ।”¹

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1. Mr. P. V. Kane's note on Bhāvika must be corrected. Surely Rāmacaraṇa is correct in giving two kinds of Bhāvika but he is wrong when he names the two kinds. The two kinds of Bhāvika are प्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यैव वर्णने and वर्णनया प्रत्यक्षायमाणं । Rāmacaraṇa misses this distinction but gives a new classification nowhere else found viz.—प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं of Adbhuta and the same of भूत and भविष्यत्. Nor are the real two kinds of Bhāvika,

In many other places, as notably in the very definition of Kāvya itself, Viśvanātha differed from Mammata. He took an independent attitude towards Mammata and Ruṣṣaka, following them completely wherever he agreed with them and criticising them wherever he disagreed. As Mr. P. V. Kane says, sometime. Viśvanātha even slavishly follows the Sarvasva.

Lastly, Viśvanātha was a contemporary of Vidyā Cakravartin. Mr. P. V. Kane assigns him to the 14th century. Vidyā Cakravartin is also assigned to the same period. As is clearly seen in his Samjivini and as has been pointed out in the Intro. to the K. Pra. in the T. S. S. Vol. I., Vidyā Cakravartin flourished in the court of king Vallāla III. It is natural to expect such frowning on the part of Vidyā Cakravartin at Viśvanātha, who, as the former says, was considered as the greatest Ālankārika of his time. Viśvanātha was a poet besides being an Ālankārika and held high office in another court at that time. He had many titles which praised him extravagantly. Thus, as can be seen from the colophons to the first and the tenth chapters of the S. D. Viśvanātha had the titles - साहित्यार्णवकर्णधार, ध्वनिप्रस्थानपरमाचार्य, कविसूक्तिरत्नाकर, अष्टादशभाषावारविलासिनीभुजङ्ग and आलङ्कारिकचक्रवर्तिन. Exactly these very titles and many more were showered on Vidyā Cakravartin who was shining at that time in the court of another king. Vide the colophons in his commentary on the K. Pra. and the extract from his A.S. Samjivini given in the introduction to Vol. I. of K. Pra. T. S. S. Thus it is natural that Vidyā Cakravartin criticised Viśvanātha in such bitter terms. There is no evidence to show Viśvanātha's attitude towards Vidyā Cakravartin. From this fact, it is sufficiently clear that Vidyā Cakravartin was a very young contemporary of Viśvanātha. We know from his Samjivini on the A. S. that Vidyā Cakravartin began to write very early, even as a mere boy. It is clear that when he began to write on Ālankāra, when he began his commentaries on the Sarvasva and the Kāvya Prakāśa, Viśvanātha's last work viz. the Kāvya Prakāśa Darpana was finished, his literary activities

the difference in the positions of Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa on the one hand and Mammata and Ruṣṣaka on the other, and the fact that Viśvanātha follows only the ancients realised by Mr. P. V. Kane in his notes on Bhāvika.

came to a close and he was merely a Sāndhivigrahika. Vidyā Cakravartin was writing in the beginning of the 14th century and Viśvanātha must therefore be referred to the closing decades of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries.

II

THE LAGHU TĪKĀ ON THE KĀVYA PRAKĀŚA

We know that Śrī Vidyācakravartin who flourished in the Court of King Vira Vallāla III in the beginning of the 14th century wrote a commentary on the Kāvya Prakāśa called the Sampradāya Prakāśinī. This work is published in the T. S. S. From the introductory verses there we learn that the Sampradāya Prakāśinī is also called as Brhattikā.

श्रीचक्रवर्तिकविना संप्रदायप्रकाशिनी ।

टीका काव्यप्रकाशस्य बृहत्तीयं विरच्यते ॥

Why should this Sampradāya Prakāśinī be called the Brhattikā? Vidyācakravartin is now known to have written this commentary on the Kāvya Prakāśa and another commentary called Samjivini on the Alamkāra Sarvasva. Besides these two works, no scholar has yet pointed out any other work of this writer in the Alamkāra Śāstra. The introductions to the two volumes of the Kāvya Prakāśa in the T. S. S. have not spoken of any other work. Nor does Dr. S. K. De mention any other work. It will be shown now that, prior to writing the Brhattikā on the Kāvya Prakāśa, Vidyācakravartin wrote a commentary on the Kāvya Prakāśa, called the Laghu Tīkā, as a contrast to which he named the second evidently bigger, commentary on the same work as the Brhattikā. This Laghutīkā is referred to by Vidyācakravartin in his Brhattikā itself. While commenting on the section on Lakṣaṇā, he says—

“ लक्षणाप्रचट्टकोऽयं अस्माभिः लघुटीकायां वितत्य विवेचितः इति ततोऽवधार्यः ।
इहापि यथोपयोगमुक्तः । ” p. 62, Part I, T. S. S. K. Pra.

There is a reference to the Laghu Tīkā in his Alamkāra Sarvasva Samjivini also. While speaking of the varieties of

Upamā numbering up to a thousand, Vidyācakravartin says in his Samjivini that he has already spoken of these varieties in his two Tikās on Mammata.

“अनयोः भेदप्रभेदवैचित्र्यात् सहस्रं अस्माभिः संप्रदायप्रकाशिन्यां काव्यप्रकाश-
बृहटीकायां वित्त्य दर्शितं । लघुटीकायां च यथोपयोगमिति ततोऽवधार्यम् ।”

Pp. 34 and 35, Mad. Ms.

So Vidyācakravartin first wrote the Laghu Tikā on Mammata and then Brhattikā and the Sarvasva Samjivini. From a reference under Apahnuti Alamkāra and from the concluding verse in the Brhattikā, which say that the Samjivini had already been written, and from the above-given reference in the Samjivini to the Brhattikā, we see that probably Vidyācakravartin was writing the Brhattikā and Samjivini side by side at the same time. I drew the attention of scholars to this Laghu Tikā since I do not find it mentioned in the introductions to the two volumes of the K. Pra. in the T. S. S. or in the list of works given by Mr. P. V. Kane in his Intro. to S. D. or by Dr. S. K. De in his Sanskrit Poetics.

III

THE BHARATA SAMGRAHA OF ŚRĪ VIDYĀ- CAKRAVARTIN

In a self-laudatory verse of his quoted by him in his A. S. Samjivini which says that even as a boy he became proficient in all Śāstras, there is special mention of Vidyācakravartin as having mastered the Bharata Śāstra i. e. the Nāṭya Śāstra. In his Brhattikā on the K. Pra. and in his A. S. Samjivini he has had occasions to treat of Rasa but no occasion to speak of Drama and Dance. Separate treatment of subjects of Rasa, Daśarūpaka, Abhinaya and perhaps music also was given by him in a separate work called Bharata Samgraha. Evidence of his having written such a work comes both from the published Brhattikā of his on the K. Pra. and the unpublished Samjivini of his on the Sarvasva.

1. “ बुद्धिकारिताः चक्षुर्विकाराः इङ्गितं । उक्तं हि मया
भरतसंग्रहे —

तारकापुटदृष्ट्यादेः विकारानिङ्गितं विदुः ।

आकाराः सात्त्विकाः भावाः पूर्वे बुद्ध्या परेऽन्यथा ॥ ”

P. 378. Vol. II, K. Pra. T. S. S.

2. On the dance-eye, नृत्यदृष्टि, called न्यञ्चित, he quotes his own Bharata Samgraha in his A. S. Samjivini.

“ उक्तं हि मया भरतसंग्रहे —

सा न्यञ्चितं न्यञ्चदपाङ्गभाव इति । ”

P. 146. Mad. Ms.

IV

THE RASARATNAKOŚA, THE NĀTAKARATNAKOŚA AND THE SAṂGĪTA RĀJA

Aufrecht mentions a work called Rasaratnakośa as found in the Paris Library. Dr. S. K. De, on p. 288 of his Skr. Poetics Vol. I, gives a short description of this work available in the Paris Biblioth. Nationale (No. 243). He says that “ it is a treatise on Rasa and kindred topics in eleven chapters. ” The summary of its contents are given by him :

Chapters 1--4 Rasas.

5--6 Nāyaka and Nāyikā.

7 Abhinaya. (?)

8--9 Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas.

10-11 Rasa and Bhāva.

Dr. De also says that the author is probably King Kumbha of Mewad (1428—1459 A. D.) who wrote besides some treatises on Saṅgita, a commentary entitled Rasikapriyā on the Gītagovinda.

Now I propose to investigate the real nature of the Rasaratnakośa from evidences supplied by Kumbha Rāja's Rasikapriyā on the G. G. The Rasaratnakośa is no doubt a work of King Kumbha

but it is not a separate work by itself. It forms a substantial section in Kumbha's very voluminous work called the Saṃgīta Rāja. This Saṃgīta Rāja is quoted very often in the Rasikapriyā: pp. 14, 21, 53, 79, 94, 99, 103, 108, 112, 115 (without name), 120, 125, 133, 143, 154 (without name), 156, 161 (without name), 162 (without name), 163 (without name), 164 (without name), 165 (without name), and 172. N. S. edn. G. G. From these quotations, we know, besides other things, this: King Kumbha is the author of the Saṃgīta Rāja and that, to restrict ourselves to the name Rasaratnakośa, that section of the Saṃgīta Rāja (which work comprehensively deals with all subjects coming directly or indirectly under the head Nāṭya Śāstra, as is shown by the range of subjects covered by Bharata himself) treating of Rasas is called the Rasaratnakośa. That is, the whole work is called Saṃgīta Rāja. A Rāja or king has his treasury in which there are many jewel-treasures, Nidhis or Ratnakośas. So each major section of the big Saṃgīta Rāja is called by the common name Ratnakośa and is further divided into Adhyāyas. It is likely that certain sections or Ratnakośas, such as that on Rasa called Rasaratnakośa got separated from Saṃgīta Rāja and were current separately since Rasa is an important subject, of interest to the larger circle of Ālaṅkārikas also besides writers on Drama, Dance and Music.

Quotations from Rasaratnakośa in the Rasikapriyā are four, all of them being found on pp. 24 and 25. N. S. edn. Two of them are given as from Rasaratnakośa and two as from the Rasaratnakośa in the Saṃgīta Rāja. The latter two are —

1. “ प्रलयेत्यादिषट्के धीरोद्धतो नायकः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे रसरत्नकोशे—
‘मात्सर्यदर्पभ्रूयिष्ठः छद्मचहंकारवाञ्छली ।
चण्डो विकथनश्रवैव धीरोद्धत उदाहृतः’ ॥ ” p. 24.
2. “ अथवा श्रृङ्गारी नायकः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे रसरत्नकोशे—
श्रृङ्गारी नायकस्त्वन्यः पञ्चमः कथ्यते यथा ।
विलासवाक्कायशीलः सुभगः स्थिरवाग्बुवा ॥
गतिस्सधैर्या दृष्टिश्च सविलासस्मितं वचः’ ॥ ” p. 25.

Besides the four quotations here referred to, there are many other anonymous citations on similar subjects and these are also very likely from the same Rasaratnakośa section of the Saṃgīta Rāja.

On p. 325 of his Poetics, Vol. I., in the list of anonymous works, Dr. De gives a work called Nāṭakarātṇakośa as being cited by Rāyamukuta and Bhānuji on Amara and as having been noticed by Aufrecht. There is every likelihood of this Nāṭakarātṇakośa being only that section of the Saṃgīta Rāja dealing with Drama proper, the Daśarūpaka and the Uparūpaka scheme, Itivṛtta, Saṃdhi etc. The sections on Rasa and Nāṭaka, these two being widely read parts of the Nāṭya Śāstra and connected more than the other sections to Alāṃkāra also, perhaps got separated into independent works as the existence of a separate Ms. of the Rasaratnakośa and the citations of these sections with the mere chapter-name show. ¹

Kumbha or Kumbha Rāṇā or Kumbhakarna or Kumbhakarna Mahāmahendra is a very great scholar as the very lengthy colophon to his commentary on the Gīta Govinda, extending in small print to half a page, shows. He was specially very learned in Bharata or Saṃgīta (i. e.) Dance, Drama and Music, vocal and instrumental. (गीतं नृत्यं च वाद्यं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते). In the colophon to the Rasikapriyā on the sixth Sarga he is called 'Abhinava Bharata.' In the colophon at the end of the commentary he is called अभिनवभरताचार्य, संगीतमीमांसामांसलमति and मूर्तिमन्नाद (i. e.) the very embodiment of Nāda. He is referred to in these and many more extravagant titles. He seems to be really very learned, especially in Bharata. His greatest work on this Śāstra is the Saṃgīta Rāja. This work is profusely quoted in his Rasikapriyā and the following two quotations show that Kumbha is its author.

1. “अतिललितं । श्रुतिजातिग्रहलयसाम्यान्मनोहरं । तथा च
संगीतराजे —

नट्टरागस्तृतीयाख्यः तालो मध्ये कचित्कचित् ।

* * *

प्रबन्धः प्रीतये गीतः श्रीपतेः कुम्भभूषुजा ॥” p. 125.

Giving the description of the song, (प्रबन्धः), contained in Sarga eleven, Kumbha says —

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1. From these Ratnakośas that are sections of the Saṃgīta Rāja must be distinguished the lexicon Ratnakośa which is quoted in commentaries on Amara. The lexicon Ratnakośa is very much earlier to the Saṃgīta Rāja.

“तथा च संगीतराजे —

आदितालः प्रथमतः प्रतिमण्डस्ततः परं ।

* * *

प्रबन्धः कुम्भभूषेन हरिप्रवणचेतसा ॥” p. 143

From these two quotations and many more of this nature quoted in the *Rasikapriyā*, which describe at length each song or *Prabandha* in the G. G. with its *Rāga* and *Tāla*, we can infer that in the *प्रबन्धाध्याय* of that *Ratnakōśa* of the *Samgīta Rāja* dealing with Music, Kumbha has, while treating of songs, specially devoted his attention to an elaborate determining and description of the nature, *Rāga* and *Tāla* of the *Prabandhas* in the G. G. When he laterly wrote the *Rasikapriyā* he naturally quoted from his own *Samgīta Rāja*.

It was said above that Kumbha's *Samgīta Rāja* is a stupendous work treating of almost all subjects dealt with or touched by Bharata. Bharata devotes two chapters (xv and xvi) to Metres. Kumbha also treats of Metres in one section which is probably called *छन्दोरत्नकोश* or *वृत्तरत्नकोश*. That he treats of Metres also is known from the following quotation in the *Rasikapriyā* on the metre called *Śikharinī*.

“शिखरिणी छन्दः । तद्वृक्षेण संगीतराजे—

‘रसै रुद्रैश्छिन्ना यमनसभलागः शिखरिणी’ ।” p. 156

Bharata, in chap. xvii. dealt with, before going to *Alamkāra*, *Guna* and *Dosa*, a concept called *Lakṣaṇa*, which comes under the province of *Alamkāra Śāstra* and is similar partly to *Alamkāras* and partly to *Samdhyanakas*.¹ This concept came to be called in later times by the names *Nāṭyālamkāra* and *Bhūṣaṇa*. To this concept also, which he calls as *Nāṭyālamkāra*, Kumbha devotes his attention as is shown by the following quotation in his *Rasikapriyā*. Commenting on the penultimate verse of the G. G. praising the poet Jayadeva, Kumbha says that here there is the *Nāṭyālamkāra* called *युगकीर्तनम्*.

1. Vide my paper on *Lakṣaṇa* in Bharata and its history in Vol. VI, Part I of the J. O. R., Ma'ras.

“ गुणकीर्तनं नाम नाट्यालंकारः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे—

‘ बहूनां गुणिनां यत्र नामार्थजनितैर्गुणैः ।

एकोऽपादिष्यते यच्च कीर्तितं गुणकीर्तनम् ’ ॥ ” p. 172.

The Guṇakīrtana is a Lakṣaṇa belonging to the Upajāti list in Bharata. Kumbha's definition of this is based upon Bharata's. It cannot now be decided how many Lakṣaṇas or Nāṭyālaṃkāras Kumbha recognised in all and whether he was acquainted with the Anuṣṭubh list of Lakṣaṇas in Bharata also. The chapter containing treatment of these Nāṭyālaṃkāras or Lakṣaṇas etc. corresponding to chap. xvii. of Bharata is probably called Alaṃkāra-ratnakośa.

Dr. De says that, in the Rasaratnakośa are quoted Abhinava and Kīrtidhara. Knowing as we do the learning of Kumbha, the nature of his writing and the range of subjects covered by him, we can expect many other valuable citations in his very valuable work, the Saṃgīta Rāja, the Ms. of which seems to be available in the Central Provinces. From Kielhorn's catalogue of Mss. in the Central Provinces, No. 96, we come to know that the Saṃgīta Rāja is also known as Saṃgīta Mīmāṃsā.¹

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1. Subsequent to my writing this, I had been on a visit to the B. O. R. I. Poona, where I found that a fragment of this Saṃgīta Rāja of Kumbhakarna was available in the B. O. R. I. Mss. library, Ms. No. 365 of 1879-80. The name of the author, Kumbhakarnamahimāhendra and of the work, Saṃgīta Rāja are seen in the Ms. It contains 21 sheets and contains perhaps the opening section of the S. Rāja which is called in the Ms. as पाठ्यरत्नकोश. This Pāṭhyaratnakośa treats of language, Sanskrit and Prakrit, Pada and Vākya, and of some subjects of music. The Ms. contains the beginning of the next section (Ratnakośa) also which treats of Metres. This is the सुन्दोऽलंकारः we referred to above. At the beginning of the Pāṭhya R. K. Kumbha gives our Anukramanikā which contains a summary of the contents and the scheme of this work, Saṃgīta Rāja and we find that our surmises regarding the contents of the S. Rāja are correct.

SOME OTHER WORKS OF KUMBHA KARNA

We already know that king Kumbhakarna has written a commentary on the Saṃgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva. We come to know of some other works of Kumbha on Music from the Rasikapriyā. He has written a work, perhaps on mere Music alone, called the Saṃgītakramadīpikā. At the end of his Rasikapriyā on Sarga III of G. G. Kumbha refers to this Music work as the sister of the Rasikapriyā.¹

श्रीमत्कुम्भनृपेन कृतविवृतौ(तेः ?) श्रीगीतगोविन्दके
संगीतक्रमदीपिकास्वसुरयं सर्गस्तृतीयो गतः ॥

We are not able to decide now whether this Saṃgītakramadīpikā is an independent work on Music or is only the name for his commentary on the Saṃgītaratnākara.

At the end of his commentary on Sarga seven Kumbha says —

श्रीएकलिङ्गाश्रयसोदरायां स्फीतोऽज्ज्वलायां रसिकप्रियायां ।
श्रीकुम्भकर्णेन विनिर्मितायांऽसर्गोऽगमत् सप्तम ऊजितायाम् ॥

Here he refers to another work whose 'sister' is this Rasikapriyā but what that work is, is not clear.

Similarly another colophon on p. 94 contains the mention of another obscure work whose 'brother' is this Rasikapriyā.

श्रीकुम्भस्वामिमन्दारस्वो (सोदरे) (?) गीतगोविन्दविवरणे etc.

1. This way of authors referring to their works became very common after Śrī Harṣa who inaugurated in the last verse of each canto of his Naiṣadha, the numbering of each canto and the mention of his other works.

A NOTE ON *NISIDHI* (*NISĪDIYĀ* OF KHĀRAVELĀ INSCRIPTION)

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

The word *nisidhi* occurs in many Jaina inscriptions both Kanarese and Sanskrit. But the spelling of the word is not uniform throughout. In Kanarese inscriptions it is variously spelt as *niṣidi*, *niṣidhi*, *nisidi*, *nisidhi*, *niṣidhi*, *niṣidhi*, *niṣidhi* and even *niṣtigi*.¹ In north Kārṇāṭaka, even to this day, the word is current as *niṣiddi*. In Sanskrit inscriptions it is met with in the form *niṣidhi*, *niṣadyakā* and *niṣadyā*.² The variety of forms tempts one to reflect on the original word and its etymology.

Considering the various inscriptions the meaning of the word is quite clear and it indicated a postmortem structure or a building, possibly built on the spot where a particular saint breathed his last or where his body was burnt or where his bony relics etc. were buried. Such a structure generally consists of a platform with four corner pillars on which is resting a massive domelike umbrella made of stones or bricks. Sometimes the platform is without pillars. On the platform there are the footprints and sometimes even the image³ to represent the deceased saint. The footprints are generally accompanied by an inscription⁴ wherein we get some information about the deceased saint, the manner in which he met his end and by whom the commemoration was executed etc. It is the inscription and not the monument that

1. EC, II, Nos. 64 ; 126, 272 ; 62, 15, 19, 85, 92, 103, 104, 112 ; 273 ; 117, 118 ; 65 etc.

2. EC, II, Nos. 66 where the phrase *niṣidhiyālayam* is used ; 65, 63, 254.

3. For instance Candrasena *niṣidi* at Koppala - Jayakārṇāṭaka, X, 10. and Nāgacandra - *niṣidi* at Kāgvāḍa - Jinavijaya xxvi, 1.

4. Many such inscriptions are published from Belgoala in EC. II -- see the Introduction, p. 69.

can be called an *epitaph*. Moreover, in Jaina texts, we get descriptions of square raised seats¹ on which the Jaina monks observed the *sallekha* ā vow that consisted in a voluntary submission to death giving up food etc. And at Koppala and other Jaina sacred places such *vedikās* are preserved.

The word being of frequent occurrence needs explanation. When we look at the Sanskrit forms *niṣadyakā* and *niṣadyā* as well as the Kanarese forms *niṣidi* and *nisidi*, there remains no doubt that the word should be traced to the root *sad* (*sid*) with *ni*, and there must have been two forms current, *niṣadyā* and *niṣidikā* meaning a seat, a sitting place, a seat taken especially for some religious rite, a place of rest etc. And when we look at those *niṣidhis* they are places where particular saints took their seats before their death or where they got final rest.

But how to explain *dh* in forms like *niṣidhi*, *nisidhi*, *niṣidhige* and *niṣidhi*? This can be easily explained considering the form of that word in Prakrit where we have *niṣihīyā* = *niṣidikā*. Ordinarily *h* can be equated with *dh*. The change *d* to *h* is not normal but has some similar instances, *kakuda* = *kauha*.² The word in its Prakrit form is very often met with in Jaina scriptures in the descriptions of buildings and the life of Jaina monks — *naisedhikī niṣidasthānam āha ca Jivābhigama-mūla-ṭikā-kṛt naisedhikī niṣida-sthānamiti* and in some cases it means a place for study. The Sk. rendering is not sufficiently justified, perhaps even the commentator suspected it and he shirks the responsibility by quoting an older authority. Early Kanarese authors, especially Jaina, always relied on the rules of Prakrit grammar for the corruption of Sk. words and their consequent importation in Kanarese and perhaps with the Prakrit form *niṣihīyā* in mind they were inclined to retain *dh* in inscriptions. As to *ddh* in some

1. See, for the description of *niṣihīyā* Bhagavati-ārādhana verses 1964-67 (Kolhapur edition p. 572 etc.); Śāstrasāra-samuccaya pp. 170 etc. (Belgaum edition).

2. Hemacandra's grammar VIII, i, 225.

3. Rāyapaseṇiya sutta, Sutra No. 28 where the word *niṣihīyā* occurs and on that Malayagiri's commentary runs thus. P. 63 of the Agamodaya-samiti edition.

forms it is a case of confusion between two forms *niṣḍikā* (Pk. *niṣḍhiyā*) and *niṣadyā*, just as the form *suggai*¹ is a confusion of two Sk. forms *sugatī* and *sadgati*. And when once the original was lost out of sight any corruption comes to be in vogue and the Kanarese form *niṣṭige*² and Sk. *niṣidhi* belong to this class.

The word *niṣḍiyā* occurs in the fifteenth line of Khārvēla inscription thus, - *arahata-niṣḍiyā-samīpe* where it clearly indicates the monumental structure on the cremation spot of *Arhan*. The shape of this structure perhaps depended, to some extent, on local usage; in South India it is a square raised seat and it must be seen whether it is correct to render *niṣḍiyā* as *stūpa* in the Khārvēla inscription. From some inscription it is explicit that *niṣḍikā* was held in high respect and even *pūjā* and *pratiṣṭhā*³ were performed on the spot.

1. Uttarādhyayana xxviii. 3 where the form *soggai* occurs.

2. EC, II, No. 65.

3. EC, II, Nos. 117, 118, 128 etc.

NĀGARA APABHRAMŚA AND NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

A REVIEW

BY

PRAHLAD C. DIWANJI, M. A., LL. M.

I have read through with keen interest the article under the above caption by Prof. N. B. Divatia published in Parts I-II of Vol. XIV of these *Annals* (pp. 103-125). The reasons why it aroused such an interest in me were (1) that I myself am a Nāgara by caste and (2) that I had found that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had, in his article in the *Indian Antiquary* under review by Prof. Divatia, repeated an erroneous statement made by Sir George Grierson at page 327 of Part II of Volume IX of his *Linguistic Survey of India*. That statement had caused me no less surprize when I first read about 6-7 years ago than it did to the learned professor but I had remained silent because it had been made in an authoritative work by a writer of recognized eminence. Now however when we find that the very fact that it is found in such a work is being taken by other scholars as a sufficient warrant for basing inferences upon, it behoves us to warn the students against the danger of doing so and bring the truth to light. Prof. Divatia therefore deserves credit for being the first Gujrati Scholar to come out into the open to do so and I propose to give him my humble support so far as the contradiction of that statement is concerned.

Although I have not like him a heavy weight of a long personal experience behind me, I can testify from a family chronicle handed down in our family for three generations that he is quite right when he says that the statement that the Nāgaras of Gujrat and Kathiawad write Gujrati in the Devanāgarī character, has no basis of truth in it. The chronicle commences from the time our earliest known ancestor came from somewhere in the north and settled in Surat and began to work as a broker between the foreign merchants and the local traders,

several years prior to 1800 A. D, in which year the then Nawab made over his sovereign rights in the Surat Atthāviśi to the East India Company represented by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the then Governor of Bombay, narrates that his son by his attainments became the Dewan of the Nawab, that he incurred the displeasure of the Nawab's successor, that his son again won by his ability the Dewanship of the State under a subsequent Nawab and so on. The whole of it is found to have been written in the Gujarāṭī character and if my impression of what I was told is correct, my grandfather who first commenced the narrative, and who died in 1877 at the age of 56 years, knew Persian but not Sanskrit. My uncle too who continued it had a workable knowledge of English but not of Sanskrit. Both of them could therefore have hardly penned ten lines in the Devanāgarī character except perhaps while copying out some religious hymns or ceremonials.

Speaking generally, it was the fashion, in Gujrāt till the foundation of the Bombay University in 1857, and even for some years after that, to study Persian and use as many Persian words as possible even in ordinary speech and correspondence. For some years after the University education produced the first batch of Gujrati writers, a keen controversy was going on between two schools, one led by Mr. Mansukhram Tripathi advocating the elimination of all foreign words and the substitution of Sanskrit or Sanskritized words in their place and imitating Sanskrit authors such as Bāna in style and the other led by Rao Bahadur Hargowandas Kantawala advocating the use of such simple words and adopting such a simple style as could be easily understood by half-educated men, women and children. Mr. Mansukhram tried to popularize the Devanāgarī script also by writing some works therein even after Gujrati types had become available but did not succeed in doing so. Mr. Manilal Nabhubhai published an edition of the Bhagavadgītā with a commentary also in the same script. But even they must have conceived the idea of doing so because of their having learnt Sanskrit at a college and at home and because they must have wished that their works should be read by a wider public, not because there was a traditional habit amongst the Nāgaras to write Gujrati in the Devanāgarī character.

Another statement which Prof. Divatia controverts is that the Nāgaras have a dialect of their own which is known as the Nāgarī-Gujrātī. As to that it is a recognized fact that the speech like the tastes of Nāgaras about a generation ago was more refined than that of the members of the other communities in Gujrat and Kathiawad. It is also true that there were till then some peculiar words in their speech such as *Kura* for cooked rice instead of *Bhāt*, *Kalaśio* for a water-pot used for the purpose of drinking instead of a *Loṭā* &c. It is also within my recollection that the Vāḍnagarā Nāgaras of the priestly section at Surat used till about a generation ago, to call a foot a *Pāga* instead of a *Paga*, to say *Karāṇ Chhāṇ* (second person singular) instead of *Kare chhe*, *Karīseṇ* (first person plural) instead of *Karīsuṇ* and had certain other peculiarities of speech and intonation some of which are noticeable in the *Narmagadya* a collection of the prose writings of Narmadashankar a Nāgara of the priestly section at Surat, and which marked them out from the members of the Grhastha section of the same caste. The latter section is identical with the Sepāhī Nāgaras at Benares, Aligarh, Agra, Calcutta and other places in the north and the east. Still even the members of that section who originally migrated from Vāḍnagar, Champaner or Junagadh seem to have carried with them some peculiarities of speech and intonation resembling those observable in the members of the priestly section till some time ago, for even now the Gujratī which the Sepāhī Nāgaras of the said places speak differs in some particulars from that spoken by the members of the corresponding section here and resembles that spoken by the members of the priestly caste a generation ago.

I doubt if these peculiarities can be called "one swallow" which "cannot make a summer", and if they can be, then one would have also to deny that there are Ahmedābādī, Charotarī, Bharūchī, Parsī, Bhāthelī, Patidārī and several other dialects noted by Sir George Grierson in the above-mentioned work, for barring a few peculiar words and a special way of intonation there is nothing in them which is not common with the speech of the other portions or communities of Gujrat. Hence just as they

are recognized as special dialects, so there is no harm in recognizing the Nāgarī as a special dialect. As to why it is found now in use only amongst certain portions of the community residing at certain places it appears to me that the Vādnagarā Nāgaras at least may originally have a dialect of their own derived from the Nāgara Apabhramśa of the Prakrit grammarians till a portion of them took to civil and military services under the Rajput and Mahomedan rulers of old Gujrat, that the members of that portion may have gradually modified their speech so as to come in a line with the other high caste Hindus and the Mahomedans who had settled down in Gujrat and adopted its local language, that the migration of some of the members of that caste to places in the north and the east may have taken place before such modification took an appreciable shape, that therefore they and the members of the priestly or conservative class who separated from them continued to adhere to their traditional way of speaking and that the peculiarities above-noted have begun to disappear in Gujarat and Kāthiāwād owing to the spread of education amongst all the communities on the modern lines, of which the teaching of the Vernaculars on a uniform basis adopted by the literateurs born, bread up and settled permanently or temporarily at various places in Gujrāt and Kāthiāwād, to male and female children, forms a part. It is not at all improbable that in one more generation, by which time even the children of those who still cling to those peculiarities will have shaken off their mannerisms, it may become a matter of history that the Nāgaras had a dialect of their own. It is of course true that the Nāgaras of no place in Gujrāt and Kāthiāwād ever made the Town and Island of Bombay their permanent habitat. Sir George Grierson must therefore be deemed to have been misled in respect of the location of the Nāgarī dialect. Nevertheless one cannot agree with the learned professor when he says that there never was and there is not a Nāgarī dialect of the Gujrātī language

NĀGARA APABHRAṂŚA

BY

N. B. DIVATIĀ, B. A.

Since my article on this subject was published in the "Annals" recently, my attention was called to a passage in the commentary on Rudrata's *Kāvya-lamkāra* written by Nami-Sādhu (V. S. 1125 = A. D. 1069). It runs thus :—

[The text being :

प्राकृतसंस्कृतमागधापिशाचभाषाश्च सूरसेनी च ।

षष्ठोऽत्र भूरिभेदो देशविशेषादपभ्रंशः ॥

(अध्याय २ श्लो. १२)]

“ तथा प्राकृतमेवापभ्रंशः । स चान्यैरुपनागराभीरग्राम्यत्वभेदेन त्रिधोक्तस्तन्निरासार्थमुक्तं भूरिभेद इति । कुतो देशविशेषात् कारणात् । तस्य च लक्षणं लोकादेव सम्यगवसेयम् ॥ ”

Thus Nami-Sādhu speaks of उपनागर अपभ्रंश here. He seems to read more than he is justified to read into Rudrata's *Kārikā*. He conjectures that Rudrata's mention of *Apabhraṁśa* as भूरिभेद (multifarious in its divisions) is intended to traverse the belief of some others that *Apabhraṁśa* was of three kinds :— *Upanāgara*, *Ābhira* and *Grāmya*. Some three or four centuries later than Nami-Sādhu, Mārkaṇḍeya (I. 7) also speaks of *Apabhraṁśa* as threefold, but instead of ग्राम्य of Nami-Sādhu, he has ब्राह्मण; and states that other divisions are not regarded as separate on account of सूक्ष्म (minute) distinctions. All that this passage can indicate is that in A. D. 1069 Nami-Sādhu had heard of *Upanāgara* as one of three *Apabhraṁśa* dialects; he mentions Ābhira and does not mention Nāgara *Apabhraṁśa* at all; while Mārkaṇḍeya has Nāgara, Vṛācaḍa and Upanāgara. It is noteworthy that Rudrata is not stated as referring to *Upanāgara*, much less to *Nāgara Apabhraṁśa*.

Thus the position which I have taken in my article remains unshaken; for all I have suggested is :

(a) that Hemacandra mentions *Apabhraṃśa*, but nowhere does he speak of, much less treat, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. It may be that these varieties did not exist in his time, or, if they did, he left them severely alone ;

(b) that Lakṣmīdhara follows Hemacandra in this respect ; in *Kramadīśvara* we find a bare mention, a casual one, of these two dialects, without any attempt at treatment ;

and (c) when we come to Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmaśarmaṇ the two dialects, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* appear to have come into prominence, comparatively speaking, by way of recognition and separate treatment. (I may add that Mārkaṇḍeya's *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* differs from the *Apabhraṃśa* of Hemacandra in some noteworthy particulars. To state, then, that the *Apabhraṃśa* treated by Hemacandra was *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* involves a curious transference of fact.).

REFERENCES TO THE BAUDDHAS AND THEIR PHILO-
SOPHY IN UMĀSVĀTI'S TATTVĀRTHABHĀṢYA AND
SIDDHASENA GANĠ'S COMMENTARY TO IT.

It is a matter of great pleasure to write this note, for, it is connected with the response I have met with, from two erudite scholars so far as the Buddhistic quotations referred to in the last issue of this very journal are concerned.

Dr. P. V. Bapat was kind enough to point out to me that आत्म-धर्मोपचारो हि is the opening verse of Trimśikā composed by Vasubandhu and edited by Prof. Sylvain Lèvi in A. D. 1925.

This very fact together with another has been communicated to me by Dr. Sylvain Lèvi, himself, the learned editor of this very work as under :—

“In response to your call (Annals Bhandarkar Or. Inst. XIV, p.143), I beg to inform you that the verse quoted on p.104 आत्म-धर्मोपचारो हि etc. is the first verse of Trimśikā, the classical work of Vasubandhu. * * * * ”

“About the name Māyāsūnaviyāh for Buddhists, I think it is rather a nickname implying the meaning of sons of Illusion, of Deceit”, much more than really the name of the queen Māyā. It sounded a good joke.”

H. R. KAPADIA

धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यानमाला ।

प्रथमं व्याख्यानम् ।

१ वेदादिवाग्विस्तरार्थनिर्देशः ।

२ वेदाद्यर्थस्य सापेक्षत्वनिरपेक्षत्वमीमांसा ।

सभ्यप्रार्थनादि — अयि सभाध्यक्षाः । वेदादिविद्यावारिधिनिमग्न-
स्वान्ताः शान्ता निर्मत्सरा विद्वांसः । यदर्थमहमत्रोपस्थितो यच्च मया
प्रत्यश्रावि सभाधिकारिभ्यस्तत्सर्वं श्रीमद्भिः श्रुतचरम् । अधुना स्वीयं
कार्यं निर्वोढुं प्रयते । तत्र प्रथमं मया वेदादिवाङ्मयस्य सारार्थः संक्षिप्ततया
यावच्छ्रव्यं कालक्रमानुसारं निर्देश्य इति समापताति । प्रथमं यत् — अगा-
धस्य वेदशास्त्रमहोदधेः परिचयो मुष्टिपचमतिना मयाऽल्पीयसाऽनेहसा
विशेषतः सर्वविद्वां तत्र भवतां समाजे कारयितुमशक्यस्तथापि “नभः पत-
न्यात्मसमं पतत्रिणः ।” इति वैयासिकवचोऽनुसारं यथामति तत्र
घृण्णोमि ।

२ वेदार्थसंक्षेपः — तथा च — विभज्य आसयतीति व्यासः । वेदानां
व्यासः, वेदव्यास इति व्युत्पत्तिसंदर्शितपथेन भगवता व्यासेन चत्वारोऽंशाः
संहितानामृग्यजुः सामाथर्वणिकीनां पैलादीन् स्वशिष्यान् पाठिताः । ते च
संहितांशा अपौरुषेया इति मीमांसकानां मतम् । वैयाकरणादिभिस्तु तत्रापि
पौरुषेयत्वमुररीक्रियते । तत्र दाशतय्यां तद्देवतानां स्तुतयः सूक्तापरपर्यायाः
समुपलभ्यन्ते । यजुःष्वध्वर्युवेदापरनामधेयेषु हविर्दानपूजनात्मकानि
कर्माणि गायामन्त्राश्च । साम्नि गीत्यात्मके औद्गात्रोपयोगिनो मन्त्राः । आथ-
र्वणे तु यज्ञवाहिर्भाग उपयुज्यमाना यज्ञोपहन्तृविशसनात्मकाः सर्पादिविष-
विघातका यज्ञीयब्राह्मकर्मप्रतिपादका वा मन्त्रा दरीदृश्यन्ते ।

३ ततस्तद्व्याख्यारूपा ब्राह्मणग्रन्था वेदविवरणार्थं प्रवृत्ताः । ऋचैव
हौत्रं, यजुषैवाध्वर्यवम्, साम्नैवौद्गात्रम्, त्रिभिर्ब्रह्मा आथर्व-
ब्राह्मणग्रन्थस्वरूपम् । णिकेन वेत्यादिवचसा वेदमन्त्राणां कर्म विधीनां च संबन्धं
बोधयितुं प्राधान्येन प्रावर्तिषतेमे ब्राह्मणग्रन्थाः । इमे
तैत्तिरीयैतरेयशातपथगोपथादिरूपा ब्राह्मणग्रन्था गद्यरूपाः कचिद् शतपथे
च स्वरविशिष्टा अपि समुपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र तैत्तिरीयैतरेयादिषु ‘विनियोजकं

वाक्यं ब्राह्मणम्' इति मीमांसकलक्षणलक्षिततया लिङ्गलोदृतव्यप्रत्ययान्ता-
स्तत्तद्याह्निककर्मबोधकविधयः समुपलभ्यन्ते । अत्र ब्राह्मणेषु त्रिधा व्याख्या-
१ प्रथमं मन्त्राणां विनियोगविधिः । २ ततो मन्त्रगतानां कतिपयानां विषम-
पदानामर्थनिर्देशः । ३ अथ च तृतीयेंऽश इतिकर्तव्यता विशेषतः संबन्ध-
वैधुर्यवती चार्थवादरूपाख्यायिका । ईदृश्यः संबन्धविधुरा अप्याख्यायिका
न वैरस्याय भवन्ति यतस्तासु प्रभूताः प्रशस्तास्ताः साहित्यविलसितत्वाद्
बहुमानास्पदं च । अत्र बहुशः “एवं ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति” इति पण्डितानां
तत्तत्कर्मविचिकित्सानिरासका विवादास्तत्र तत्र श्रूयन्ते । त एवोहादिद्वारा
धर्मशास्त्रीयसंशीतिहरत्वेनोपयुज्यन्ते । निबन्धकृद्भिः क्वचित्तथोपयोजित-
मपि । किं चेमा आख्यायिका इतिहासप्रवणमतीन् पुराणवस्तुसंशोधकाश्चोप-
कुर्वन्ति । संहितांशे देवतास्तुतयः । ब्राह्मणांशे कर्मविधय इति प्रभूतं तार-
तम्यं मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्विवरीतुं शक्यं किंतु विस्तरभीतिरिमं प्रपञ्चं निरुणद्धि ।
ब्राह्मणग्रन्थो यथा वेदार्थसंदेहापहारी तथा शिक्षाव्याकरणादीनि षडङ्गा-
न्यपि । कल्पविषये त्वनुपदमेवोच्यते ।

४ ब्राह्मणे वेदत्वातिदेशः—ततस्तत्र काले संप्रवृत्तेन कर्मविधिमाहात्म्येन
संप्रेरितो भगवान् कात्यायनमहर्षिः “मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्” इति
सूत्रयित्वा ब्राह्मणभागेऽपि वेदत्वमतिदिदेश । ततः प्रभृति ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेऽपि,
“श्रूयते, श्रुतिः, आम्नायः” इति वाक्प्रचारोऽनिरुद्धसंचरः पदं लेभे । तत्र
ब्राह्मणेषु कानिचिन्नवीनानि कानिचित् प्राचीनानीति “पुराणप्रोक्तेषु
ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु” इति भगवतः पाणिनेः सूत्रात्प्रतीयते । पुराणेति किम् ।
याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानीति तत्प्रत्युदाहरणं सूत्रव्याख्याकृद्भिः प्रदर्श्यते ।
तेनैव संजाघटीति ब्राह्मणविषये पौरुषेयत्वसंशीतिः केषांचित् । एतेषामेव
चरमांशा आरण्यकरूपाः तत्र प्रायः कर्मगतानां कतिपयानामुद्गीथाद्यङ्गाना-
मुपासनाः ।

५ काण्डत्रयोपयोगः—ततश्च कर्मणा चित्तशुद्धिः, उपासनया चित्तै-
काग्र्यम्, ज्ञानेन मोक्षः, इति तार्तीयस्थितिसमधिगतये उत्तरकाण्डे वेद-
शिरोभूतोपनिषत्सु ज्ञानं प्रतिपाद्यते “तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमिति नान्यः
पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय” इति श्रुतेः । एवमेव वेदगतकाण्डत्रयाथनिर्णायकानि
जैमिनिवादरायणसूत्राणि । उपनिषदर्थग्रथनार्थत्वात्सूत्राणामिति श्रीशंकर-
भगवत्पूज्यपादाः । अत एव विशदयध्यायात्मिका मीमांसा संप्रवृत्ता । तत्र
द्वादशाध्यायाः कर्मकाण्डगताश्चत्वार उपासनार्थनिर्णायका देवताकाण्डपर-
पर्यायाः संकलनया षोडशैते जैमिनिप्रणीता एव । अथ चोपनिषदर्थप्रति-
पादकाश्चत्वारो वादरायणमहर्षिप्रणीता उत्तरमीमांसासूत्राध्यायाः । सोऽयं
विलसति काण्डत्रयानुयायिनां पन्थाः ।

६ सूत्रग्रन्थोद्भवः— परं ये केवलं पूर्वकाण्डेन यज्ञविधिना सदांचा

रेण च स्वीयमैहिकं पारलौकिकं च फलं कामयमाना
सूत्रग्रन्थोद्भवः अनुतिष्ठन्ति विधीनेव केवलं तदर्थमत्र किंचिद्वि
मीमांस्यते । अयि श्रुत्यर्थचणा विद्वन्मित्राः । ब्राह्म-

णार्थं तद्गतविधिं च दुरुहं भन्वानानां कृतेऽश्वलायनबौधायनकात्यायना-
दिभिः कल्पसूत्राणां प्रणेतृभिः स एव ब्राह्मणगतः कर्मविधिः सूत्ररूपेण
ग्रथितः । सूत्रं नाम - आख्यायिकार्थवादरहितो ब्राह्मणांश इत्युक्त्या ना-
पराधिनमात्मानं कलये । यत एतदेव सूत्राणां स्वरूपम् । तथा च यावच्छ्रु-
क्यं ब्राह्मणाक्षराण्येव सूत्रेषु दृश्यन्ते । एवमयं सूत्रग्रन्थः सौकर्यायानुष्ठा-
नृणां सुग्रहः । सूत्रेषु च प्रकारत्रयम् — १ श्रौतसूत्राणि, २ स्मार्तसूत्राणि,
३ धर्मसूत्राणि च । यथा ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु श्रौता यागविधयस्तदितिकर्तव्यता-
रूपाणि निरूपणानि तथैव श्रौतसूत्रेष्वपि संभवन्ति तानि बह्वित्रयसाध्यानि
कर्माणि ।

स्मार्तसूत्राणि -- श्रौतसूत्रग्रथनानन्तरं स्मार्तसूत्रप्रणयनम् । यतः
श्रौताग्निहोत्रादौ “जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत” इति विधानात् जात-
पुत्रस्याधिकारः, जातपुत्रत्वं च विवाहमन्तरानुपपन्नं ततश्च ‘येन विना
यदनुपपन्नं तत्तेनाक्षिप्यते’ इति न्यायेन जातपुत्रत्वं धर्म्यं विवाहमाक्षिपति ।
तदर्थं विवाहादयः षोडश संस्कारा एकाग्निसाध्यानि श्रवणाकर्मस्थाली-
पाकादीनि तैरेवाश्वलायनादिमहर्षिभिः स्वगृह्यरूपेण स्वशाखानुसारं ग्रथि-
तानि ।

धर्मसूत्राणि—अनन्तरं च तत्तत्कर्मसदाचारादिविषयकविचिकित्सावि-
निवर्तकानि धर्मसूत्राण्यवातारिषुः । तेषामवतारप्रकारश्चे-
त्थम् । यदा यदा कर्मविचिकित्सा वा वृत्तविचिकित्सा वा
संजाता तदा तदा गुरुणां शिष्याणां च शास्त्रविषयि-
णी मीमांसा प्रवर्तते स्म । कदाचिद् ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु तत्समानकक्षीयाः
संशीतयः समुत्तारिताः पुराणेषु वा । अत्र नैवमनुयोक्तव्यं यद्ब्राह्मणग्रन्था-
त्प्राक्तनानि अधुनोपलभ्यमानानि पुराणानीति । नेति तदुत्तरम् । किं तु
पुराणं नाम किमप्याख्यायिकारूपं ब्राह्मणात्प्राक्तनं
पुराणप्राक्तनत्वाविचारः ग्रन्थजातमासीत् । शातपथीयवृहदारण्यकादिषु —

“तस्यैतस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्यद्गवेदो
यजुर्वेदः सामवेदः वाको वाक्यं पुराणमितिहासः” इत्यादिनिर्दि-
शात् । ब्राह्मणेषु पुराणशब्दः सामान्यतो जगदुत्पत्तिमीमांसेत्यर्थं समुप-
युज्यते । एवं च पूर्वोक्ता गुरुशिष्याः ब्राह्मणपुराणपर्यालोचनया शास्त्र-
संस्कृतबुद्ध्या च समाप्य वादं सूत्ररूपेण सिद्धान्तं ग्रथयामासुस्तान्येव
धर्मसूत्राणि । यद्यपि प्राक्तनविवादस्तत्र नोपलभ्यते तथापि सिद्धान्तेनानु-

मातुं शक्यः सः । इमान्येव सूत्राणि गौतमबौधायनापस्तम्बादीनि धर्म-
सूत्राणि स्मृतीनां निदानम् । तत्र कानि सूत्राणि काः स्मृतीः प्रयोजयति
किं वा तेषां पौर्वापर्यमिति तृतीये व्याख्याने पर्यालोचयिष्यामः ।

पुराणमहाभारते — अधुना पुराणविषये समुपक्षिप्यते — ब्राह्मणग्रन्था-
नन्तरं जायमानेषु पुराणेषु “वंशो मन्वन्तराणि” इत्यादिश्लोकबोधितरीत्या
वंशादीनि पञ्चाङ्गानि वर्णितानि । यथा श्रीमन्महाभारते वैयासिके कुरुराजे-
तिहासानुरोधाद् बहूनि राजधर्माद्युपाख्यानानि सर्वजनकार्याकार्यसंदेहाप-
हारकाणि समुपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र पुराणेषु परिकीर्तिता विविधाः कथास्ता
अनुसृत्य स्मृतीनां प्रणयनं, ततः पुराणानि धर्ममूलमिति स्मृतिव्याख्यातृभि-
रुक्तीक्रियते । पुराणकथा आहत्य धर्मनिर्णय आसीत् । धर्मसूत्रेषूपोद्बलक-
त्वेन पुराणवचांसि स्वीक्रियन्ते ।

शास्त्रापेक्षयाऽपि रुढेराचारापरपर्यायायाः श्रेष्ठत्वमासीदिति द्योतयितुं
पुराणमाहात्म्यप्रदर्शकं नारदस्मृतिवचो हेमाद्रिणा
रूढिमात्रस्त्यम् संकलितम् ।

वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिता देवि पुराणे नात्र संशयः ॥

विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥ १ ॥

उभाभ्यां यत्र दृष्टं न तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥

एवं नारदीयपुराणे महाभारते च — “अन्धस्य यष्टिरिव वेदानां
पुराणानि” इति प्रत्यवादि । मीमांसकैः स्मृत्यपेक्षया पुराणानां गौणत्वं
स्वीक्रियते । आदिष्यपुराणे तु कालिवर्ज्यत्वेन केचिद्धर्मशास्त्रबोधितविधिनां
निषेधाः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । अतः पुराणैर्बाध्यत्वं धर्मशास्त्रस्य । ते चाधुनात-
नन्यायालयाध्यक्षैरुपयोज्यन्ते ।

दत्तौरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहाः ।

शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसौरिणाम् ॥

भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिदूरतः ।

ब्राह्मणादिषु तु शूद्रस्य पक्कतादिक्रियापि च ॥

भृग्वन्निमरणं चैव वृद्धादिमरणं तथा ।

इदं वर्ज्यप्रकरणं पूर्वं न्यायालये नियोज्यमानैः पण्डितैरङ्गीक्रियते स्म ।

तैः पुराणानामुपपुराणानां चोपोद्बलकत्वेन स्वीकारः
पुराणेन शास्त्रस्य कृतः । तैः पुराणवाक्यानि स्मृतिवाक्यानीव संमानि-
वाध्यत्वम् तानि । (पराशरमाधवीये श्रुतिमालम्ब्य पूर्वपक्षयित्वा
पुराणवचोऽनुसरणेन तत्खण्डनं बहुषु स्थलेषु समुपलभ्यते) यतः पुराणेषु
चातीव सादृश्यम् । तथा च — कूर्मपुराणमुशनःस्मृतिश्च समा । याज्ञवल्कीय-

श्राद्धकल्पः अभिगृह्यपुराणे च समे । भविष्यपुराणस्थाः केचिदंशा मनु-
स्मृत्या समाः । यद्यपि पुराणं न धर्मशास्त्र तथापि तत्तत्कालीनरूढिदर्शक-
त्वेन उद्ग्रहणत्वादिषु रघुनन्दनादिभिराद्रियते । रघुनन्दनेन स्मृतिसंमतो-
सवर्णविवाह आदित्यपुराणप्रामाण्याच्चिरस्तः । आदित्यपुराणे च-

समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदघट् भवेत् ।

इत्युक्तम् । पुराणैः कालदेशपरिस्थित्यनुरूपं योग्यमेवाचरितम् ।
पुराणभारतादीनां ग्रन्थनमनु व्यतीति बहुतिथे काले साहित्यग्रन्थानां
काव्यनाटकादीनां प्रगयनम् । प्रकृतेऽस्माभिर्धर्मशास्त्रविषय एवांपक्षेपः
कर्तव्योऽतः पूर्वोक्तग्रन्थग्रहोदधौ समुपलभ्यमानानि धर्मशास्त्रविषयसंस्च-
कानि लिङ्गानि कालानुरोधात् कियन्तिचिन्निर्विश्यन्ते । तत्प्रदर्शने दायभाग-
विषय एव विशेषतः समादरः कर्तव्यः प्रसङ्गानुरोधात् । अतस्तान्येव
प्रदर्श्यन्ते ।

प्राचीन - व्यवहारधर्मशास्त्रनिर्देशाः -

१ मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत् । तै० सं० ३-१-९-४

२ तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । तै० सं० २-५-२-७

३ तस्मात् स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरापि पापात्पुंस उपस्तितरं
वदन्ति । तै० सं० ६-५-८-२

४ शाकुन्तलम्- षष्ठोऽङ्कः । -

राजा- (अमुवाच्य) कथम् । समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाहो धनमिश्रो
नाम नौव्यसने विपन्नः । अनपत्यश्च किल तपस्वी । राजगामी तस्या-
र्थसंचय इत्येतदमात्येन लिखितम् । कष्टं स्वल्पनपत्यता । वेत्रवति
बहुधनत्वाद्वहुपत्नीकेन तत्रभवता भवितव्यम् । विचार्यतां यदि
काचिदापन्नसत्त्वा तस्य भार्यासु स्यात् । प्रतीहारी — देव । इदानी-
मेव साकेतस्य श्रेष्ठिनो दुहिता निर्वृत्तपुंसवना जायाऽस्य श्रूयते ।
राजा — ननु गर्भः पित्र्यं रिक्थमर्हति । गच्छ । एवममात्यं ब्रूहि ।

५ न जामये तान्वा रिक्थमारैक् (ऋग्वेद) ३-११-२ निरुक्ते- ३-५

६ वृ० आ० २- ब्रा० ४ कं० १-

मैत्रेयीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः । उद्यास्यन्वा अरेऽहमस्मात्स्थानाद्-
स्मि हन्त तेऽनया कात्यायन्याऽन्तं करिष्यामि ।

७ पातञ्जलमहाभाष्ये १-२-३

न वा राजाज्ञास्ति न वा धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति । (अनेन राजाज्ञा
वा प्रमाणं धर्मसूत्रकारा वा प्रमाणमिति पातञ्जलमतं प्रतीयते ।)

तत्र धर्मशास्त्रं किं तदग्रन्थाश्च के तत्स्वरूपं च कीदृग्विधमिति तृतीये व्याख्याने प्रदर्शयिष्यामः । पूर्वं तदुपयोगित्वेनाद्य स्मृत्यादिधर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थानां वाच्यलक्ष्याद्यर्थाः कथं निर्णया इति मीमांस्यते । 'वचनस्य नातिभारोऽस्ति' इति धर्मशास्त्रे स्वीक्रियते तेन लक्ष्यार्थस्य न तत्र संभावना । व्याख्याकृतां श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरप्रभृतीनां सरणावालोक्ष्यमानायामिदं मतिपथमाटीकते यत् तैर्यावच्छक्यं ग्रन्थकालक्रमानपेक्षं सर्वेषां स्मृतिग्रन्थानां मूलतत्पूर्वभावानां पश्चाद्भाविनामपि चार्थं समन्वितं कृत्वा मूलार्थो विव्रियते । स एव

च न्यायालयस्थैराद्रियते कदाचित्तेन मूलविरोधी टीकाकृतां पन्थाः विप्लवोऽपि समुद्भवति । तदधुना यथामति विवृणोमि । अयि श्रेष्ठाः । मीमांसाशास्त्रे गुणोपसंहारो नाम समाहृतः कश्चन साधोयान् पन्थाः । तेन श्रौतस्मार्तसूत्रोक्तविधिषु तत्तत्सूत्रेषु कृतानि कानिचित् कर्माणि भवन्ति तेषां गुणोपसंहाराविचारः 'अनुक्रमन्यतो ग्राह्यम्' इति वाक्यात् सूत्रान्तरात् ग्रहणं यत्र सर्वं विध्यस्तत्र समुपलभ्यन्ते तत्र न सूत्रान्तरान् स्मृतिभ्यो वा संग्रहणम् ।

बह्वर्णं वा स्वगृह्योक्तं यस्य यावत्प्रकीर्तितम् ।

तस्य तावति शास्त्रार्थं कृते सर्वं कृतं भवेत् ॥

इति कात्यायनस्मृतेः । एतावता व्याख्याकृतामयमधिकोपक्षेपः सर्वत्र न गुणोपसंहारन्यायानुसारी । किंच भो विचारचातुरीचतुराः । इदमन्यदप्येकं ध्येयम् । निबन्धानां व्याख्याकृतां च प्रामाण्यं स्मृतिवज्राप्रतिहतप्रसरं किं तु प्रमाणान्तरावलम्बि । यतः स्मृतीनामुपदेशविधयाऽस्ति प्रामाण्यं नाम । यतस्तदुक्त्यवमतौ प्रत्यवायोत्पत्तिः । विहितस्याननुष्ठानादिति स्मृतेः पातित्यापादकं तत् । न तथा निबन्धकृताम् । सर्वशास्त्रनदीष्णानां तेषां तद्विचारविधया प्रामाण्यं नाम स्वयमस्माभिः स्मृत्यर्थकरणे नो चेद्वक्ष्यमाणविरोधस्तर्हि तदनुकूलमर्थकरणमन्यथा तस्याग इत्येव । द्वितीयः पन्थाः सर्वमीमांसकाशिष्टसंमतोऽत एव तत्तैर्निबन्धकृद्भिः परस्परं वैमत्यं प्रदर्श्यते । एतत्तु नाविदितं निबन्धादिपर्यालोचयितृणाम् । न चैवं प्रत्युत्थातव्यं यत्स्मृत्यन्तरसमत्यैवाधिकार्थस्योपक्षेपो व्याख्याकृद्भिः कल्प्यते किं तत्र विवादास्पदमिति । अत्रैवं ब्रूमः । स्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वयविषये विचारो द्वितीयकक्षां गतः प्रथमं निर्दिष्टादं सर्वैराहता सरणिरियम् । व्याकरणकोशादिभिरातवाक्यैश्च पदानां संकेतं गृहीत्वा प्रकरणसंनिध्यादिरूपिणी मीमांसकसरणिः संमाननीया । यद्यत्र व्याख्याकृतामैक्यं ततस्तु न विवाः । मम तु मतमेतत् ।

यदेवमेव सर्वत्र स्मृतिषु प्रवर्तनीयम् । सुलभार्थाक्षराणि स्मृतिवाक्यानि भवन्ति । मूलनिरपेक्षं क्वचित्द्विरुद्धमपि व्याख्याकृत एव शरणीक्रियन्ते कैश्चित् । तदर्थमेव मयेदमुपाक्षिप्यते । इदं विचारास्पदं—स्मृत्यर्थो व्याख्यादि-सापेक्षो ग्राह्यस्तन्निरपेक्षो मूलैकशरणतया ग्राह्यो वा । द्वितीयः कल्पो राद्धान्तरूपः ।

मन्वादिस्मृतीनां प्रभूता व्याख्याः समुपलभ्यन्ते । (तासां सर्वासां नामानि तृतीयव्याख्याने कालनिर्देशपुरःसरं कथयिष्यामि ।) .

मनुस्मृतौ व्याख्याष्टक विलसति । याज्ञवल्कीये च त्रिचतुराणि व्याख्या-
नानि । आधि श्रेष्ठाः । इदमत्र विचार्यम् । स्मृतिश्लोकार्थः १ सर्वथा सर्वस्मृत्य-
न्तरसमन्वितो ग्राह्यः । २ यावच्छक्यस्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वितो ग्राह्योऽथवा ३
तत्तद्व्याख्याकृतप्रदर्शितस्मृतिसमन्वितो ग्राह्यः । नाद्यः । सर्वैः सर्वथा सर्व-
स्मृतीनामशक्योपलम्भत्वात् । न द्वितीयः । यावच्छ-
परस्परविरोधः । क्यमिति पदस्य निरर्गलत्वात् । न तृतीयः । व्याख्या-
कृतां विरोधात्सर्वस्मृतिग्रहग्राहिलतया व्याख्याकृद्भि-
र्मूलस्वारस्यविरोधार्थप्रदर्शनाच्च । अत्र हेतुद्वये उदाहरणद्वयं प्रदर्श्यते प्रथित-
योर्मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्योः ।

अर्थानर्थावुभौ बुद्ध्वा धर्माधर्मौ च केवलौ ।

वर्णक्रमेण सर्वाणि पश्येत्कार्याणि कार्थिणाम् ॥

अस्य वाक्यस्यार्थो व्याख्याद्वये द्विधा । अत्र श्लोके मेधातिथिः—धर्मा-
धर्मावेव केवलावर्थानर्थौ न गोहिरण्यादिलाभोऽर्थस्तद्विपर्ययो वानर्थः किं तर्हि
धर्म एवार्थोनर्थश्चाधर्म इति बुद्ध्वा हृदि निश्चित्य कार्याणि पश्येत् अथवा-
र्थानर्थावपि शौध्यौ धर्मावपि धर्मस्य सारता बोद्धव्यार्थस्य फल्गुता ।
अथवा यत्र महाननर्थः स्वल्पश्चाधर्मस्तत्रानर्थं परिहरेत् । शक्यो हि मह-
तार्थेनेषदधर्मा दानप्रायश्चित्तादिना निराकर्तुम् । संनिपाते च व्यवहारिणां
बहूनां वर्णक्रम आश्रयितव्य एष च दर्शने क्रमो वर्णानां यदार्थं तुल्यपीडा
भवन्ति यदा त्ववरवर्णस्याप्यात्यायिकं कार्यं महद्वा तदा यस्य चात्यायिका
पीडेत्यनेन न्यायेन तदेव प्रथमं पश्येत् न क्रममाद्रियेत राज्यस्थित्यर्थो हि
व्यवहारनिर्णय इत्युक्तमतो न यथाश्रुतमादरणीयम् ॥ २४ ॥ इति व्याख्याति ।

कुल्लुकश्रैवं टीकयति — प्रजारक्षणोच्छेदाद्यात्मकावैदिकावर्थानर्थौ
बुद्ध्वा परलोकार्थं धर्माधर्मौ केवलावनुरुध्य यथा विरोधो न भवति
तथा कार्थार्थिनां कार्याणि पश्येत् । बहुवर्णमेलके तु ब्राह्मणादिक्रमेण
पश्येत् ॥ २४ ॥

एवं च प्रथमायां व्याख्यायाम्— अर्थः कारणं, धर्मः कार्यम् । द्वितीयस्यां धर्मः कारणमर्थः कार्यम् । इति व्याख्यातृभेदः । उभावपि मीमांसकौ । अधुना मूलस्वरस्यविरोधे दृष्टान्तः ।

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ —

पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यदन्यत्स्वयमर्जितम् ।

मैत्रमौद्वाहिकं चैव दायादानां न तद्भवेत् ॥ २—११८ ॥

क्रमादभ्यागतं द्रव्यं हृतमभ्युद्धरेत्तु यः ।

दायादेभ्यो न तद्दद्याद्विद्यया लब्धमेव च ॥ २—११९ ॥

अत्र श्लोकद्वये वाक्यद्वयं सुविशदं जागर्ति । दायादानां न तद्भवेत् ।

दायादेभ्यो न तद् दद्यात् । इति क्रियापदाभ्यां पृथ-

मूलविरोधः गवाक्यत्वस्य प्रदर्शनात् । एकतिङ् वाक्यमिति च
वैयाकरणानां घण्टापथः । तथापि मिताक्षरायां

श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरैः पितृद्रव्याविरोधेनेत्यस्य भिन्नवाक्यस्थपदस्य विद्यया लब्ध-
मेव चेत्यनेनेतरवाक्यस्थपदेन संबन्धो निरदेशि स न युक्तिसहः । अत्र
व्याख्यातृमहोदयैः १ समाचारविरोधः २ नारदवचनविरोधः ३ कात्यायनव-
चोविरोधश्चेति हेतुत्रयं दर्शितम् । एवं च तदाहृतनारदकात्यायनस्मृतिसम-
न्वयं कर्तुं कौमैः कथमपि संबन्ध आहृतस्तथापि स मूलस्वरस्यविरोधी यतो
भगवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः संबन्धमिमपैक्षिष्यत चेत्कुतः समानार्थकं दायादानां
न तद्भवेत्, दायादेभ्यो न तद् दद्यादिति क्रियापदं प्रायोक्ष्यत् । किं च
सोऽयं व्याख्याकृत्संबन्धः पूर्वप्रणीतमनुस्मृतिविरोधकश्च । तथाऽत्र मनौ-
विद्याधनं तु यद्यस्य तत्तस्यैव धनं भवेत् ।

मैत्रमौद्वाहिकं चैव माधुपर्किकमेव च ॥ १—२०६

प्रोफेसर काणेमहोदयैर्धर्मशास्त्रमहोदधिसमालोडनप्रमाणितमतिभिर्या-
ज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिकालः क्रिस्तशकात्प्राक्तनशतसंवत्सरादारभ्य तच्छकानन्तरं
शतत्रयपर्यन्तमित्युदलेखि । तथा कात्यायनस्य कालः
स्मृतीनां पौर्वापर्यम् । क्रिस्तशकादनन्तरं चतुःशततमसंवत्सरादनन्तरं षट्-
शतमितसंवत्सरपर्यन्तमिति चोदलेखि । तेन सुस्पष्ट-
मेतद्भक्तं शक्यं यत्कात्यायनः स्मृतिकृद्याज्ञवल्क्यानन्तरजः । एवं च
कात्यायनानुसारं याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्यर्थः शास्त्रयुक्तिविधुरः । प्राक्तनमन्वनुसारं
तु युक्तिसहः ।

ततश्चेदं सिद्धं यद्याज्ञवल्क्यमतेन निरुपाधि विद्याधनमविभाज्यं, इति
स्वरसतया पूर्वतनस्मृत्यनुकूलतया च सिध्यति । व्याख्याकृद्विज्ञानेश्वरमतेन
तु पितृद्रव्याविरोधेनेत्युपाधिना सह तदविभाज्यमिति सिध्यति तच्चोक्त-
प्रकारेण शास्त्रयुक्तिविधुरम् । श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरैर्मिताक्षरायां प्रथमाध्यायपञ्चम-

श्लोके “एतेषां प्रत्येकं प्रामाण्येऽपि साकाङ्क्षाणामाकाङ्क्षादिपूरणमन्यतः क्रियते । विरोधे तु विकल्पः” इति कण्ठरवेणोक्तम् । विज्ञानेश्वरस्य स्वोक्तिः- तद्युक्तं मीमांसकसमादरणीयत्वात् । एवं च तदुक्त्यापि विरोधः । निर्गच्छत्ययमर्थः । यद् यत्र साकाङ्क्षं स्मृतिवाक्यं तत्रैव स्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वयः कर्तव्यः । निराकाङ्क्षे न । विरोधे विकल्पश्च । अत्र विद्याधनविषयकस्मृतौ श्लोकस्तु न साकाङ्क्षो नाप्यस्पष्टार्थकः । तथापि केवलं स्वकालिकविद्याधनविभाज्यतापद्धतिसंसाधनार्थं कथमपि कात्यायनवचसा याज्ञवल्कीयं समन्वितमकार्षुर्विज्ञानेश्वरस्वामिनः । यत्र साकाङ्क्षं यथा —

नेक्षेतार्कं न नशां स्त्रीं न च संसृष्टमैथुनाम् ।

न च मूत्रं पुरीषं वा नाशुची राहुतारकाः । १—१३५

तत्र स्मृत्यन्तरस्य मन्वादेः समुच्चय इष्टः स च तैरादृतश्च । अन्यथा सर्वपावकसूर्यदर्शनाभावः संपद्येत । याज्ञवल्क्येन हि साकाङ्क्षे योजना भगवतः सूर्यस्य प्रसादाद् वेदाधिगमः संपादितः, स तद्दर्शननिषेधं कुर्यात् किम् ? अत्र श्लोके न सर्वदेव सूर्यालोकननिषेधः किं तु ।

नेक्षेतोद्यन्तमादित्यं नास्तं यन्तं कदाचन ॥ ४—३७

इति मनुस्मृतिसमन्विततया व्याख्यानमावश्यकं युक्तिसहं च । अत्र स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-जीमूतवाहनकृतदायभागादयो निबन्धा विवरणीयाः किंतु कालाभावाद्भिरम्यते ततः । एवं चैतदनुसंधेयं यत्र न स्वरसविरोधो न वा व्याकरणमीमांसादिनियमक्षतिराकाङ्क्षाघटिततथार्थानुपलब्धिश्च तत्र पूर्वतनस्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वय आदरणीयो नान्यत्र । व्याख्याकृतो निबन्धकृतश्च कुतः समन्वयग्रहग्रहिला भवन्ति तत्र राजकीयं कारणं तत्तत्कालीनसमाचारविरोधोऽथवोभयपक्षसंसाधनार्थोपयोगिमीमांसा* जयकरविद्याधननियमः लापनचातुरी वा प्रयोजिकेति सविस्तरं मीमांसेत पञ्चमे व्याख्याने । अबहुतिथे काले व्यतीते विद्याधनविषये नवीनो राजनियमो मान्यवरजयकरमहोदयसंस्मृत्यनया समभूतत्रयमेवं वक्तुं धृष्टुमो यद्याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिसंमतोऽयं विद्याधनाविभागो न्यायालयस्थैः पण्डितैर्मिताक्षरानुरोधादेतावता कालेन भिन्नव्यवहारः कृतः । अधुना तु यथास्मृति व्यवहारः प्रचलिष्यति इत्येव न तत्र प्रवृत्ता । एवं बहुषु विवादपदेषु वक्तुं शक्यं तत्तद्विषये समालोचयिष्याम इति शम् ।

*मीमांसायां तत्तदर्थविष्युपयुक्तानि बहून्यधिकरणानि भवन्ति तैरुभयथाऽपि धर्मशास्त्रीयपक्षाः निबन्धरुद्धिः साधयितुं शक्यन्ते ।

द्वितीयं व्याख्यानम् ।

१ धर्मधर्मशास्त्रयोः स्वरूपम् ।

२ धर्मशास्त्रोद्गमस्तत्प्रकारश्च ।

अस्मिन् द्वितीयव्याख्याने धर्मधर्मशास्त्रयोः स्वरूपं तदुद्गमकारणं तत्संघटना बाध्यबाधकभावो धर्मव्यवहारस्वरूपनिदर्शनपूर्वकं सालक्षण्य-
वैलक्षण्ये च प्रदर्श्यते ।

१ धर्मशब्दार्थः ।

धर्मशब्दस्य तत्तद्दर्शानां परंपरायां समालोचितायां बहवः परिस्थिति-
भेदा अनुमातुं शक्यन्ते । दाशतय्यां पुरुषसूक्ते — यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवा-
स्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् ॥' इत्याद्यृक्षु संधारक इति विशेष्यभूतः कुत्र-
चिच्च उत्थापक इति विशेषणार्थको धर्मशब्दः समुपलभ्यते । क्वचिच्च
धार्मिकीः समाज्ञा बोधयति । ततश्चैतरेयब्राह्मणे सदाचारसमूह इत्यर्थ-
श्लान्दोग्ये तु आश्रमसंबन्धविशिष्टविधयः, माण्डूक्योपनिषदि* गौडपादा-
चार्यकारिकासु 'उपासनाश्रितो धर्मो जाते ब्रह्मणि वर्तते ॥ इति धर्मपदेन
जीवस्य ग्रहणम् ।

तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि 'धर्मं चर' इत्यत्र तथा भगवद्गीतासु "स्वधर्मे निधनं
श्रेयः । परधर्मो भयावहः ।" इत्यादौ मनुस्मृतौ याज्ञवल्कीये च 'वर्णाश्रमे-
तराणां नो ब्रूहि धर्मान्शेषतः' इति धर्मपदेन वेदानुयायिनां विशिष्टानि
कर्तव्यानीत्यर्थः । तदेतद्दादृत्य मेधातिथिविज्ञानेश्वरादिभिः १ वर्णधर्मः
२ आश्रमधर्मः ३ सामान्यधर्मः इत्यादयः प्रकारा उररीकृताः । एतमर्थमाह-
त्यैव व्याख्यानमालायामस्माकं प्रवृत्तिः । अत्र धर्मशास्त्रे प्रतिपादितानाचार-
व्यवहारप्रायश्चित्ताख्यान् पदार्थान् स एवार्थो व्याप्नोति । अन्ये च जैमिनि-
कणादादिर्दिशिता अर्थास्तल्लक्षणानि वा यथा नोपयुज्यन्ते प्रकृते धर्म-
शास्त्रीयपदार्थजाते तत्परीक्षिष्यामहे ।

शास्त्रान्तरीय - लक्षणस्यासंभवः ।

प्रथमं श्रीजैमिनिमहर्षिणा दर्शितं धर्मलक्षणं मीमांसामहे । तत्रैतत्प्र-
चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः इति । वेदविहितः स्वर्गादिप्रापको यो यज्ञादिरूपः

* उपनिषत्सु धर्मशब्दस्याल्पीयान् प्रयोगः । प्रभूतस्तु ब्रह्मशब्दस्यैव । क्वचित्तैत्तिरीये
धर्मं चरेत्यत्र सत्कर्मैत्यर्थे । तत्रैव अल्लक्षा धर्मकामाः स्युः "इत्यत्रापि सत्कर्म ।
ततश्च मनुस्मृतौ सदाचार इत्यर्थे — 'धर्मेणाधिगतो यैस्तु वेदः सपरिबहणः ।'

पदार्थः स धर्मः । अयमर्थः श्रौतसूत्रोपयुक्तः । न स्मृतिगतधर्मशास्त्रे समुप-
युज्यते तेनैव व्यवहारदायभागेऽपि न तस्य प्रसरः । ततो वैशेषिकाणां
लक्षणम् - यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः” इदं लक्षणं सापेक्षं न
गोष्ठद्वयाहिकया धर्मपदार्थं बोधयति, यत्कारणं अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधको-
ऽयमिति वेदस्मृत्यादिवचःसापेक्षत्वात् । तथैव श्रीमन्महाभारते —

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति मे ।

धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स च कस्मान्न सेव्यते ॥

इति श्रीमन्महाभारतीयलक्षणलक्षितोऽपि धर्मः साकाङ्क्षः । एवं वेद-
विहितं धर्मः । वेदनिषिद्धमधर्मः । न हि तत्रानुमानं प्रमाणं, इति पातञ्जल-
भाष्यकैयटे । अयमपि श्रौतधर्मविषय एव । एवं च धर्मस्वरूपं येन मति-
पथमारोहेत्तदिदं लक्षणं यत्-

श्रीमन्महाभारते- धारणाद्धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।

यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

इतीदं सार्वकालिकसार्वजनीनं शिष्टादृतं च धर्मलक्षणम् । यदा यदा
समाजस्य धारणं रक्षणापरपर्यायं येन संसाधयितुं शक्यते स तदानींतनो
धर्मः । अत एव वैदिकधर्मे पशुमांसाभ्यवहारः स्मार्तधर्मे शूलगवादिकर्म,
विविधं श्राद्धीयान्नमधुनातनधार्मिकाणां वैदिकमार्गानुयायिनां वेदानुकूल-
समाचारश्च पुराणादिषु वर्तिकादाहश्च संगच्छन्ते । तत्तत्कुलाचारादयश्च
धार्मिका एव । ततश्चायं निर्गलितोऽर्थः । यद्यस्मिन् काले समाजधारकं
तदानींतनशिष्टसंमतं तदेव धर्मपदेन व्यवह्रियते । एतावता स्यात्कदाचित्
कस्यचित् मतम् ‘केनापि कथमपि वर्तितव्यमिदमेव च समाजधारकमित्यु-
द्धोषणीयं तेन च विप्लवः स्यात् । इति । एवं वक्तुं न शक्यते । तथा तदानीं
शिष्टैर्ग्रन्थादिद्वारा राजादिद्वारा च सुयोग्यं नियम्यमानत्वात् । ‘शिष्टः
पुनरकामात्मा’ इति लक्षणलक्षितस्तेन विप्लवस्यासंभाव्यमानत्वात् ।

अधुना धर्मस्य प्रयोजका ज्ञापका वा क इति विचार्यते । श्रुतिः, स्मृतिः,

सदाचारः (अयमेव रूढिपदेन व्यवह्रियते)

धर्मस्य प्रयोजकाः तत्प्रणीतं

धर्मशास्त्रं च । तत्र बाध्य-

बाधकभावः । धर्मनिर्णयहेतवः

आत्मप्रियम्, आत्मतुष्टिर्वा वेदशास्त्रविरोधी

तर्कः । शासनाच्छास्त्रं धर्मस्य शास्त्रं धर्म-

शास्त्रम् । किं च शास्त्रपदनिवृत्तिः -

प्रवृत्तिर्वा निवृत्तिर्वा नित्येन कृतकेन च ॥

पुंसां येनोपदिश्येत तच्छास्त्रमाभिधीयते ॥ इति ।

तथा च सत्कर्मप्रवृत्तिरसत्कर्मैनिवृत्तिर्वा बोध्यतेऽधिकारिणां येनापौरुषेयेण पौरुषेयेण वा वचसा तच्छास्त्रमित्यङ्गीकार्यम् । धर्मशास्त्रकारकज्ञापकहेतु-
विषये याज्ञवल्क्यः —

कारकहेतवः— देशे काल उपायेन द्रव्यं श्रद्धासमान्वितम् ।
पात्रे प्रदीयते यत्तत्सकलं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥

ज्ञापकहेतवः— श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
सम्यक्संकल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥
पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यमतेन निर्णायकाः—

चत्वारो वेदधर्मज्ञाः पर्षत्त्रैविद्यमेव वा ।
सा ब्रूते यं स धर्मः स्यादेको वाध्यात्मवित्तमः ॥

सभा वा न प्रवेष्टव्येत्यादि वाक्यं तु राजनियताधिकारिसभाविषयम् ।

मनुः—

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥ २-१ ॥

धर्मप्रमाणानि —

वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विद्वाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ २-६ ॥
श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः ।
ते सर्वार्थेष्वमीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्मौ हि निर्वभौ ॥ २-१० ॥
वेदः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
एतच्चतुर्विधं प्राहुः साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥ २-१२ ॥
अर्थकामेष्वसक्तानां धर्मज्ञानं विधीयते ।
धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः ॥ २-१३ ॥
श्रुतिद्वैधं तु यत्र स्यान्नत्र धर्मावभौ स्मृतौ ।
उभावपि हि तौ धर्मौ सम्यगुक्तौ मनीषिभिः ॥ २-१४ ॥

अत्रार्थं मनुस्मृत्युक्ता उदितानुदितादिहोमद्विविधश्रुतिविषयका दृष्टान्ताः
ततः परं द्वादशाध्याये —

प्रत्यक्षं चानुमानं च शास्त्रं च विविधागमम् ।
त्रयं सुविदितं कार्यं धर्मशुद्धिमभीप्सता ॥ १२-१०५ ॥

आर्षं धर्मोपदेशं च वेदशास्त्राविरोधिना ।
यस्तर्केणानुसंधत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः ॥ १२-१०६ ॥
तर्केण = अनुमानेन, मीमांसारूपेण वा ।

अनाम्नातेषु धमषु कथं स्यादिति चेद्भवेत् ॥
यं शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुः स धर्मः स्यादशङ्कितः ॥ १२-१०८ ॥

धर्मेणाधिगतो यैस्तु वेदः सपरिवृंहणः ।
ते शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ज्ञेयाः श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षहेतवः ॥ १२-१०९ ॥

दशावरा वा परिषद्यं धर्मं परिकल्पयेत् ।
त्र्यवरा वापि वृत्तस्था तं धर्मं न विचालयेत् ॥ १२-११० ॥

एवं वसिष्ठापस्तम्बादिस्त्रेषु बहवो निर्देशाः ।
आचारः प्रथमो धर्मः श्रुत्युक्तः स्मार्त एव च । म. १-१०८ ॥

एवमाचारतो दृष्ट्वा धर्मस्य मुनयो गतिम् ।
सर्वस्य तपसो मूलमाचारं जगृहुः परम् ॥ म. १-११० ॥

स्मृतिव्याख्याकृद्भिः पुराणानि धर्ममूलमिति मत्वा तदनुसारं व्याख्या-
यते । पुराणेषु विलसन्ति विविधा आख्यायिकास्ताभिः सदाचारोऽनुमातुं
शक्यते । हेमाद्रिर्नारदपुराणश्लोकानुदाहरति —

वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिता देवि पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

इतिहासपुराणैश्च कृतोऽयं निश्चयः पुरा ।
यत्नं दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तद् दृष्टं स्मृतिभिः किल ।
उभाभ्यां यत्र दृष्टं न तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥

सदाचारविषये प्रमाणानि —

केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।
युक्तिहानि विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ बृहस्पतिः ।

धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं प्रथमं श्रुतिः ।
द्वितीयं धर्मशास्त्रं तु तृतीयं लोकसंग्रहः ॥ महाभारते

लोकसंग्रहः शिष्टाचार इति यावत् — पराशरमाधवः ।

स्मृत्याचारयोर्विरोध आचारस्य श्रेष्ठत्वम् —

वैदिकैः स्मर्यमाणत्वात्तत्परिग्रहदार्ढ्यतः ।

संभाव्यवेदमूलत्वात्स्मृतीनां वेदमूलता ॥

तस्मात्कुलक्रमायातमाचारं त्वाचरेद्बुधः ।

स गरीयान् महाबाहो सर्वशास्त्रोदितादपि ॥ म. भा. ।

देशपत्तनगोष्ठेषु पुरग्रामेषु वादिनाम् ।

तेषां स्वसमयैर्धर्मः शास्त्रतोऽन्येषु तैः सह ॥ मनुः ।

देशधर्माज्ञातिधर्मान् कुलधर्माश्च शाश्वतान् ।

पाखण्डगणधर्माश्च शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नुक्तवान् मनुः ॥

यस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यक्रमगतः ।

वर्णानां सान्तरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते ॥

यद्यदाचर्यते येन धर्म्यं वाधर्म्यमेव वा ।

देशस्याचरणं नित्यं चरितं तद्धि कीर्तितम् ॥ बृहस्पतिः ॥

आदौ तावद्देशधर्मो विचिन्त्यो देशे देशे या स्थितिः सैव कार्या ।

लोकद्विष्टं पण्डिता वर्जयन्ति दैवज्ञोऽतो लोकमार्गेण यायात् ॥ देवलः ॥

सर्वागमानामाचारः प्रथमं परिकल्पते ।

आचारप्रभवो धर्मो धर्मस्य प्रभुरच्युतः ॥ म. भा. ॥

आचारसंभवो धर्मो धर्मे वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः । म. भा. वनपर्व ॥

आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ मनुः ॥

येषु देशेषु यत्तोयं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः ।

तत्र तान्नावमन्येत धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः ॥ देवलः ॥

अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविकृष्टं धर्ममप्याचरेन्न तु ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यः ॥

प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यं शास्त्रं च विविधागमम् ।

यस्तर्केणानुसंधत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः ॥ मनुः ॥

धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः ।

व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावहीयते ।

सूक्ष्मो हि भगवान् धर्मः परोक्षो दुर्विचारणः ।

अतः प्रत्यक्षधर्मेण व्यवहारगतिं नयेत् ॥

घशं प्राप्तस्य देशस्य व्यवहारदर्शनम् —

देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक् प्रवर्तिताः ।

तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ॥ बृहस्पतिः ॥

देशाचारधर्माः —

यस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारंपर्यक्रमागतः ।

तथैव परिपाल्योऽसौ यदा वशमुपागतः ॥ बृहस्पतिः ।

एतानि लोकशुण्यार्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।

निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ।

समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् ॥ आदित्यपुराणे ॥

धर्मार्थशास्त्रविप्रतिपत्तिः ।

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोर्विप्रतिपत्तावाह नारदः—

यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।

अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥ इति १-३९ ॥

धर्मशास्त्रयोर्विरोधे त्वाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः ॥ २-११ ॥

न्यायमनालोचयतो दोषमाह बृहस्पतिः—

केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः ।

युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ इति ।

देशाचाराद्यप्यालोचयेदित्याह बृहस्पतिः—

देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक् प्रवर्तिताः ।

तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ।

जनापरक्तिर्भवति बलं कोशश्च नश्यति ।

तथा च — उद्धृत्य दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैरित्यादि । अनेन कर्मणा नैते प्रायश्चित्तदमार्हकाः । तत्तद्देशे प्रायश्चित्तं नास्ति अनाचारेषु । भिन्नदेशेषु तु प्रायश्चित्तं दमश्चास्ति । व्यासः—

वणिक्शिल्पिप्रभृतिषु कुषिरङ्गोपजीविषु ।

अशक्यो निर्णयो ह्यन्यैस्तज्जैरेव तु कारयेत् ॥

समालोचितेष्वेषु मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिवचःस्वयमेवार्थो मतिपथमारोहति यत् श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणगतानि कर्माणि त्रिष्वप्यदृष्टानि केवलसदाचारप्राप्तानि

तत्तत्कालीनैरकामात्मभिर्धर्मकामैः शिष्टैः परिगृहीतानि तान्येव धर्मरूपेण परिगतानि ।

यानि वेदोक्तकर्माणि तान्येव स्मृतिषु पुराणेषु सन्ति वेदानामानन्यादु-
च्छिन्नशास्त्रत्वाच्च तेषां स्मार्तादीनि कर्माणि
वैदिककर्माण्येव स्मृत्यादिषु यथायथ वेदे सन्तीति मीमांसका वदन्ति ।
सन्तीति मतस्य विमर्शः । मन्वादयः परावरद्रष्टारः । श्रुत्यर्थं मनसा संस्मृत्य
स्वस्मृतीः प्रणयन्तीत्यपि तेषां मतम् । परन्तु
मन्वादय एव तत्र विसंवदन्ते । वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्वि-
द्वाम्' इति श्रुतिभ्यः पार्थक्येन समुच्चायक'च'कारेण च स्मृत्यादिनिर्दे-
शात् । किं च मनुरेव—

श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः ।

ते सर्वार्थेष्वमीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्मौ हि निर्वर्तौ इति तयोः संम-
कक्षतया मीमांसानर्हत्वं द्योतयति कारणं च तत्र दर्शयति 'ताभ्यां धर्मौ हि
निर्वर्तौ' इति । एतावदेदं राट्टान्तन्तां यायात् यत् श्रौता धर्माः श्रुतिभ्यः
समाधिगन्तव्याः स्मार्ताश्च स्मृतिभ्यः । ततः परं हेमाद्रिणा संकलिताच्चारद-
पुराणवाक्यात् 'उभाभ्यां यत्र दृष्टं न तत्पुराणेषु गीयते' इत्यादिरूपात्
श्रुतिस्मृत्योरदृष्टं धर्मजातं पुराणेषु कथ्यते । अथ च 'समयश्चापि साधूनां
प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् । इति नारदवचसैव शिष्टाचारप्राप्ताः केचित्तत्कालीना
धर्मास्तेऽपि पूर्वोक्तप्रमाणकोटिमागताः । अत्रेत्यमपि वक्तुं धृष्णुमो यत्
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमिति संकल्पेषु गीयते धार्मिकैस्तदनयैव
रीत्या स्वरसतया संगच्छते । तथा हि — श्रुतौ यत्फलमुक्तं तच्छ्रौत-
विधीनामेव, तथैव स्मृतौ स्मृतिगंतोनां, पुराणेषु पुराणोक्तानां, तेन च
तत्तत्फलप्राप्त्यर्थं पार्थक्येन सर्वेषां ग्रहणम् यदि श्रुतिगतमेव स्मृतिषु पुराणेषु
च तथैव प्रतिपाद्यते तर्हि श्रुत्युक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमित्यनेनैव तदर्थसिद्धौ श्रुति-
स्मृतिपुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमिति पुनरुक्तभूतं वितथार्थकं स्यात् । किं च
याजकैः स्त्रीशूद्रयजमानकर्तृककर्मसु केवलं पुराणोक्तमित्येव प्रोच्यते तेषां
श्रुतिस्मृत्योरनधिकारादिति च 'तथा ब्रूम' इति जोषुष्यते । अथि विचार-
चातुरीचतुराः । यदि श्रौतमेव पुराणेष्वस्ति तर्हि पुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमिति
कथनेनैव केवलेन कथं कार्यसिद्धिरिति विचार्यमाणे सिकताकूपन्यायः
समापतति । अतस्त्यज्यतामयं पन्था यच्छ्रौतोक्तमेव सर्वं स्मृतिपुराणसदा-
चारेष्वस्तीति । मीमांसकानामयं वादः सुगृहीतश्रुतिप्रामाण्यवत् सर्वत्र
स्मृतिपुराणेष्वप्रतिहतं प्रामाण्यमस्तीति बोधयितुम् । यथा मनुस्मृतौ—

यः कश्चित्कस्यचिद्धर्मो मनुना परिकीर्तितः ।

स सर्वोऽभिहितो वेदे सर्वज्ञानमयो हि सः ॥ २-७ ॥

इत्यर्थवादः । यदीदं सत्यार्थकं तर्हि नैतन्मम मतमित्यादिना याज्ञवल्क्यो
नाखण्डयिष्यत् ।

अधुना पूर्वोक्तवचनैर्बाध्यबाधकभावं पर्यालोचयामः । श्रुतेर्द्वैधे उदि-
तानुदितायुदाहरणेषु मनुक्तचनुसारं शास्त्राभेदेन
श्रुतिर्द्वैधाविचारः व्यवस्था । उभयोः समप्रामाण्यात् । स्मृतेस्तु
प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्या बाधः । स्मृत्योः परस्परं विरोधे
विकल्पः । सदाचारः पुराणमिति चानर्थान्तरम् । यतः पुराणभारतेषु मह-
तामाचारा एव वर्णितास्तथैव च 'समाचारो बहूनाम्' इत्यादि द्रौपद्या
बहुपतिकत्वादिविषयेषु समुपलभ्यते । कुत्रचित् पुराणवाक्यैः स्मृतीनां बाधः
यथाऽऽदित्यपुराणस्थकलिवर्ज्यप्रकरणेन तत्तत्स्मृतीनां बाधः । आदित्य-
पुराणोक्तमेव नान्तिमम् । यतो मातुलकन्यापरिणयविषये तद्वद्भिर्भूते अधुना
शिष्टाचारानुरोधान्माधवाचार्यादिभिर्बाधोऽङ्गीक्रियते । धर्मार्थशास्त्रयोर्विरोधे
तु धर्मशास्त्रं बलवत् इति आचारप्रायश्चित्तयोः काण्डयोः । व्यवहारकाण्डे
तु तत्तत्कालीनसमाचारानुरोधार्थशास्त्रमेव बलीयः । अत एव समाचार-
विरोधं हेतुकृत्य विज्ञानेश्वरैः स्मृत्यर्थो विपरिवर्तितः । अत्र बहु वक्तव्यम् ।
ततश्च आचारश्चैव साधूनामित्येतदनन्तरं, आत्मनस्तुष्टिरेव चेति धर्म-
प्रयोजकं मनुना प्रादर्शितदुपयोगः कुत्रेति मीमांसायां संप्रवृत्तायामिदं
वक्तुं शक्यं यत्र श्रौतस्य स्मार्तस्य वा द्वैविध्यं तत्र येन पक्षेण स्वसृष्टिः स
एव स्वीकार्यः । अथवा यत्र श्रुतौ स्मृतौ वा न किमप्युक्तं तत्रात्मसंतोषावहं
परापीडाकरं च भोजनकाले जलं न पास्यामि' इत्यादि स्वीकार्यं तेन परा-
पीडकस्य स्वसंतोषावहस्य च कर्मणो धर्मत्वनिरासः ।

रुदितप्रयोजकविमर्शः—

यत्र न शास्त्रवचनं तत्र रुढेरङ्गीकार इत्युच्यते । सा रुढिः केषां,
सर्वतः प्रसृतानां शूद्रातिशूद्राणां किंवा ब्राह्मणानामेवाथवा केवल-
शास्त्रज्ञानां तेषामथवा याज्ञिकानामेव, के ते शिष्टा यदुक्ताया रुढेः
प्रामाण्यं तद्वक्तव्यमित्यनुयोगे तत्तत्संशयापाकरणार्थं तत्र तत्र विज्ञाना-
मल्लक्षणां धर्मज्ञानां समयः प्रमाणमित्युत्तरम् । पूर्वोक्ताचारप्रतिपादक-
वाक्यजातात् । सर्वलोकादरे तस्यैव समयस्योपयोगात् इति दिक् ।

धर्मशास्त्र-घटना

भगवता मनुना 'आचारः प्रथमो धर्मः श्रुत्युक्तः स्मार्त एव च' अ. १-
१०८ श्लो० इत्यत्र धर्मात्प्राक्तनत्वं प्रत्यपादि ततः 'एवमाचारतो दृष्ट्वा
धर्मस्य मुनयो गतिम्' सर्वस्य तपसो मूलमाचारं जगृहुः परम् ॥ १-११०
इति वाक्येनाचारं दृष्ट्वा धर्मनियमाः स्मृतिरूपेण प्रणीताः । अधुना स्मृतिषु-
पलभ्यमानं वैविध्यं तत्तत्कालीनाचारवैविध्यमूलकमिति सुविशदं प्रत्ये-
तं शक्यं यथा च भाषाभिगतौ व्याकरणमुपयुज्यते तद्वत् तत्कालीनाचारोप-

लब्धौ धर्मशास्त्रमुपयुज्यते । एवं च श्रुतिस्मृत्यादि धर्मस्य ज्ञापकं न कारकं व्याकरणवत् । यथा व्याकरणेन न नवीनाः शब्दा उत्पाद्यन्ते किंतु लोक-सिद्धानां तेषां साधुत्वं ख्याप्यते तद्वत्तत्कर्माणि तदानींतनानामाचार इत्येव स्मृतिभिर्बोध्यते न नवीनान्यनुष्ठाप्यन्ते । अत्रार्थे पतञ्जलिर्महाभाष्यकारः— सिद्धेषु लौकिकवैदिकेषु धर्मनियमार्थं व्याकरणम् । अन्यच्च तद्यथा घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह 'कुरु घटम्' कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह कुरु शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्य इति ॥ अ. १-१-१, पृष्ठ ७ Kielhorn's Edition एतावतेदं सिध्यति पूर्वं श्रौतसूत्रेभ्यः परंपरया तत्तत्कर्माविचिकित्सानिराकरणार्थं धर्मसूत्राणि प्राणीयन्त तेषां प्रणयने ब्राह्मणगता आख्यायिकाः पौराणिककथाश्च दृष्टान्तत्वेनोपयुक्ताः । यथा वैदिकसंस्कृतिलोपो न स्यात्तथा लौकिका-चाराणां वैदिकसंस्काराणां च संमिश्रणेन धर्मशास्त्रं समुदभूत् । एवमा-चारप्रायश्चित्तकाण्डयोः । व्यवहारकाण्डे त्वन्यादृशी गतिः । लौकिका-चाराणां नीतिनियमानां च संमिश्रणं नाम व्यवहारकाण्डम् ।

अधुना नेपालदेशेषु 'हिंदु कायदा' पदवाच्यः राजव्यवहारः समुपलभ्यते तं शुक्रनीतिं चाणक्यनीतिं च सम्यगभ्यस्य पुरुषः सम्यगव्यवहारज्ञानवान् भवेत् । किं च पूर्वव्यवहारोऽधुनोपलभ्यमानैस्ताम्रपट्टलेखैः कदाचित् कदा-चिदव्यवहारसमये न्यायालयं प्राप्नुवद्भिस्तत्तत्कालीनव्यवहारं दर्शयद्भिर्दा-यपत्रैर्ज्ञातुं शक्येत । तमालम्ब्य पूर्वतनव्यवहारस्य निर्णयः कर्तव्यः । व्यव-हारदृष्ट्या संस्कारेषु सूत्रधारणविवाहयोरेव माहात्म्यं तयोर्यथाक्रमं द्विजत्व-द्वारा गोत्रप्रवरविपरिवृत्तिद्वारा चाग्निमे दायभागादौ व्यवहारे प्राबल्यम् । किं च पूर्वराजपुरुषाणां विप्लवकारणानां राजकीयव्यवस्थानां च सम्यग-भ्यासेनैव ज्ञातुं शक्येत तदानींतनधर्मशास्त्रम् । अत इदं वक्तुं शक्यं यज्जन-समूहो यं संमन्यते स एव राजव्यवहारः । बौद्धिकसमाजानां विचारेतिहास एव राजव्यवहारेतिहासः । एवं चैतत्सिद्धं वैदिकसंस्कृतेस्तत्तत्कालीना-चारस्य च मिश्रणेन धर्मो नाम आचारप्रायश्चित्तकाण्डे भवतः । लौकि-काचाराणां चाणक्यादिनीतिनियमानां च संकरेण राजव्यवहारो नाम व्यवहारकाण्डं भवति । अधुना मन्वादिस्मृतीनां व्यवहारकाण्डेऽनुप-लभ्यमाना वारवनितानां वद्यद्वारा शरीरपरीक्षा चाणक्यशास्त्रे समुपलभ्यते । ततश्च चाणक्यादिनीतिशास्त्रं पाथक्येन व्यवहारकाण्डसहकारि भवति ।

अधुना धर्मस्योद्गमे १ सामान्यासिद्धिः २ विशेषसिद्धिरिति द्वयं लौकि-काचाराश्चापेक्ष्यन्ते तान् विवृणुमः । पूर्वोक्ता ब्राह्मणपुराणादिगता लौकिका-चाराः पूर्वं समालोच्य तेभ्यः सामान्यतः परपीडाभावादिकं व्यभिचार-

भावादिकं च तत्त्वं निष्कास्यते । एवमितः परं न वर्तितव्यमिति । यथा कचोपाख्यानं शुक्राचार्यकथितो मद्यपाननिषेधः । इयं सामान्यसिद्धिः ।

पूर्वोक्ताचारे समुपलभ्यमाना या विशिष्टदेशकालजा सिद्धिस्तयोप-
लभ्यमानं तत्तद्देशकालविशिष्टा सिद्धिर्विशेषसिद्धिः ।

विशेषसिद्धिः

पर्वं भारते वर्षे, पूर्वकालिकानिर्णयानालोच्य व्यवहारार्थं सामान्यसिद्धिं निर्णय व्यवहारदर्शनं तत्तद्वाजभिरक्रियत । जैमिनिना वेदेभ्यः सामान्यसिद्धिर्निष्कासिता । अत एव श्रौतविषयाण्य-
धिकरणानि स्मार्तेऽप्युपयोजयन्ति ।

धर्मव्यवहारयोः स्वरूपम्—

अधुना धर्मव्यवहारयोः स्वरूपविवेचनं कुर्मः । धर्मांशे चाचारप्रायश्चि-
त्तयोर्महर्षिभिः शिष्टैः प्रणीता विलसन्ति नियमाः । व्यवहारे तु राजकृताः
प्राचीनव्यवहारदर्शका नियमाः । धर्मानुष्ठाने राजभीत्यपेक्षया परलोकभी-
तिरधिका । व्यवहारविरोधे तु राजदण्डोऽवश्यंभावी । समधिगते राजदण्डे
परलोकपीडा नास्ति । एवमेव व्यभिचारादावेनासि यत्र चान्द्रायणादि
प्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डश्च विधीयते तत्रानभूते राजदण्डे प्रायश्चित्तं नापेक्ष्यते
न ग्राह्यं च तथा परलोकपीडापि नास्ति । प्रपञ्चितं चैतन्मिताक्षरादौ ।

धर्मव्यवहारयोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये—

अधुना धर्मव्यवहारयोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये दर्शयिष्यामः ।

सालक्षण्यम्—

१ धर्मव्यवहारावुभावप्यैहिकपारलौकिकफलसाधकौ ।

२ धर्मव्यवहारयोरुभयोरपि मूलं निश्चितं लोकाचारतः संशोध्यम् ।

३ उभयोरपि सिद्धौ द्वयोः सामान्यविशेषसिद्ध्योर्वैद्यकज्योतिष्यादि-
शास्त्रसमुपोद्बलकस्य चापेक्षा । विशिष्टानुमानानां चापेक्षा ।

४ तत्तत्कालिकसदाचारपरिवृत्त्योभयोरपि परिवृत्तिः । अत एव
पृथक्स्मृतिनिबन्धानां प्रणयनम् ।

५ उभाभ्यामपि तात्त्विकं सत्यमन्यशास्त्रनिर्णयनिकषोपलपरीक्षित-
मुररीकार्यम् । अनयोस्तु स्वयं सत्यनिर्णायकत्वे प्रयोजकत्वं ना-

अनयोर्वैलक्षण्यम्—

१ धर्मपरस्य स्वभावरूपोऽर्थः । स्वभावपदेन जन्मसामयिको गुण
इत्यर्थो निर्गच्छति तेन धर्म उत्पत्तिसिद्धौ गुण इति जना
अभिमन्वते ।

२ व्यवहारो जनैराद्रियते तत्र कारणं राजदण्डस्यापाकरणं धर्मानुष्ठानं तु पारलौकिकं दुःखमपाकर्तुम् । आत्मतुष्टये वा । तच्च निष्कामकर्मबुद्ध्या कृतं चेत् मोक्षाय परंपरया ।

३ व्यवहारपदेन रूढा लौकिका आचारास्ते पूर्वराजस्वामिकशिलापट्टादिभिर्ज्ञायन्ते । धर्मस्तु व्यावहारिकसदाचारस्य मूलभूतं तत्त्वम् । अयं तत्त्वमूलभूतो धर्मः पूज्यग्रन्थेभ्यो वेदादिभ्यो निष्कासनीयो भवति । व्यवहारस्तु विशेषतो वेदादिषु नोपलभ्यते । केवलं राजप्रेरितो लोकाचारजन्यश्च लिङ्गेन ज्ञायमानश्च ।

यदि धर्मव्यवहारयोः प्रामाण्यमपेक्ष्यते तर्हि स्वतःप्रमाणभूतेन वेदेन तत्संबन्धोऽवश्यमेव स्वीकार्यः । अत एव मीमांसकैः श्रुतिमूलत्वादेव तद्विरोधादेव च स्मृत्यादीनां प्रामाण्यमाहतम् । प्राचीनानां सरणिरीयं यन्महाभारतादिषु ते तांस्तान्नवीनाचारान् प्रकल्प्यापि 'एष धर्मः सनातनः' 'पूर्वैरिदमाचरितम्' इत्याद्युद्धोष्य वेदमूलकत्वं सर्वेषां प्रस्थापयन्ति । तेन वेदगतप्रामाण्यस्याप्रतिहतं प्रसरः सर्वत्राग्रिमग्रन्थेषु प्राचीनग्रन्थकृतः प्रत्याचारादिकं सर्वं मूलत एव निर्गतमिति वदन्ति । कदाचिदर्थान्तरमप्यङ्गीकुर्वन्ति ।

पूर्वमीमांसकैरेवं वेदादिगतं प्रामाण्यं पुराणेषु सदाचारादिषु मुक्तकण्ठमाद्रियते तद्विरोधित्वेन हेतुना । एवं च यथान्यत्र तथा प्रामाण्यविषयेऽप्युच्यते । चारमीमांसकैः *पूर्वमीमांसकमतमनुक्रियते । किं बहुना प्राच्यां मीमांसायां म्लेच्छशब्दानामपि वेदार्थकरणे साहाय्यमालम्बितमार्थशब्दार्थपरित्यागपुरःसरमिति प्रथमाध्यायस्थम्लेच्छाधिकरणसमालोचयितृणां नापरिचितमिति । किंच 'कृते तु मानवा धर्मा' इति यदि सार्थतया जनैराद्रियेत तर्हि नातिचिरं जायमानेन निर्णयस्मिन्नुपप्रेतत्रा मन्वादिस्मृतिनिर्देशः प्रामाण्येन नाद्रियेत किं चायं श्लोकः पराशरस्यैव न मन्वादेरिति ।

*स्मृतिप्रामाण्यबोधकानि जैमिनिसूत्राणि—

अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात् प्रमाणमनुमानं स्यात् १-३-२

विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम् १-३-३

हेतुदर्शनाच्च १-३-४

तृतीयं व्याख्यानम् ।

१ धर्मशास्त्रावान्तरभेदाः ।

२ धर्मशास्त्रस्थविशिष्टग्रन्थानां परिचयः ।

द्वितीयव्याख्याने धर्मशास्त्रेतिपदान्तर्गतधर्मपदार्थस्य स्वरूपं तथा धर्म-
शास्त्रस्य च स्वरूपं समालोच्य तदुद्गमे बीजं तत्तत्कालिकं सदाचारं
प्रतिपाद्य तत्संघटनानां निर्णयं धर्मव्यवहारस्वरूपनिर्देशपूर्वकं तयोर्धर्म-
व्यवहारयोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये व्यवृण्वम् । अधुना धर्मशास्त्रमिति व्यव-
हियमाण ग्रन्थजातं विवृणोमि । तत्र त्रयोऽवान्तरभेदाः । आचारो व्यवहारः
प्रायश्चित्तं चेति । तत्राचारप्रायश्चित्तो परलोकफलसंबद्धत्वान्मुनिभिः प्रणीते
व्यवहारस्त्वैहिकफलप्रदत्वादिह लोकस्थव्यवस्थाकारिणा राज्ञा प्रणीत इति
वक्तुं शक्यते । अयि विद्वांसः सकलमिदं ग्रन्थजातं सार्धद्विसद्वन्ने ह्ययं-
नानां पूर्तिमगात् ।

ग्रन्थत्रैविध्यम् ।

एतस्य च त्रैविध्यं स्थूलतया प्रतिपादयितुं शक्यम् । प्रथमं धर्मसूत्राणां
प्रणयनमथ च स्मृतीनां तदनन्तरं व्याख्यानिबन्धानाम् । कानिचिद्धर्म-
सूत्राणि मनोः प्राक्तनानि । कानिचिच्च तदुत्तरकालजानि । धर्मसूत्रकृद्भिः
स्मृतिप्रणेतृभिश्च “ धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः । यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति
कीर्तितः ” इति महाभारतवचोऽनुसारं समाजभवं पुरस्कृत्य निखिलं धर्म-
जातमुपादिशि । अत एव तान्युभयाविधानि ग्रन्थजातानि जनानां संमानभा-
जनमभवन् । धर्मसूत्रस्मृतयश्च भिन्नशाखां तन्निवासदेशं च लक्ष्यकृत्य
प्रणीतत्वात्तत्तच्छास्त्रीयैस्तत्तज्जनपदवासिभिश्च संमान्यन्ते स्म । तदानीं
सर्वग्रन्थस्य समन्वयः कर्तव्य इति वार्तापि नासीत् । निखिलस्य धर्मस्य
धर्माशस्य वा मन्वादयः समनुगन्तव्याः प्रवृत्त्याश्च संशीतिविषये । एतच्च
'मनुमेकाग्रमासीनम्' 'योगीश्वरं याज्ञवल्क्यं संपूज्य मुनयोऽब्रुवन्,'
व्यासश्च निखिलस्मृतिजातं स्मरन्नपि तत्काले तद्धर्मेण स्वीयं कार्यमपारयन्
नवीनधर्मजातमपृच्छदिति 'श्रुता मे मानवा धर्मा वासिष्ठाः काश्यपास्तथा'
इत्यादि 'श्रुता ह्येते भवत्प्रोक्ताः श्रुत्यर्था मे न विस्मृताः । अस्मिन्मन्वन्तरे
धर्माः कृतत्रेतादिके युगे । सर्वे धर्माः कृते जाताः सर्वे नष्टाः कलौ युगे ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाचारं किञ्चित् साधारणं वद ॥' इति प्रथमाध्याये पराशर-
स्मृतौ १६ श्लोकपर्यन्तम् । एवं च प्रश्नप्रतिप्रश्नाभ्यां पूर्वोक्तस्मृत्युपक्रमगता-

भ्यामेवं प्रत्येतुं शक्यं यत् मनुयाज्ञवल्क्याभ्यां वर्णानामान्तरप्रभवाणां च धर्माः कथिताः पराशरेण तु चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य समाचारात्मकं किञ्चित्साधारणं धर्मजातं कथितं तथैव प्रश्नोपक्षेपात् । पूर्वमुक्तं यत् त्रिविधं ग्रन्थस्वरूपं तन्मध्ये धर्मसूत्रे स्मृतिषु चैकवाक्यता न दृश्यते । सूत्रेषु केचित् आचार्या इति निर्देशः केवलं मतान्तरस्य । निबन्धेषु व्याख्याग्रन्थेषु च सा सर्वत्रैव बहुशो दृश्यते । तत्र चैकवाक्यतायां स्वाभिमतसिद्धयर्थं पूर्वमीमांसाधिकरणानि समुपयोजितानि । दृश्यते चातीव बुद्धिकौशलं व्याख्यातृणां निबन्धकृतां च भेदप्रभेदप्रणयने । किंतु यथा धर्मसूत्रस्मृतिषु समाजधारण-बुद्धिस्तथा व्याख्यानिबन्धेषु न संदृश्यते केवलं पूर्वनिबन्धखण्डने बद्ध-परिकरत्वमनुभूयते । एतच्च सविस्तरं सनिदानं पञ्चमे व्याख्याने समा-लोचयिष्यामः ।

अधुना धर्मसूत्रग्रन्थपरिचयपूर्वकं तत्पौर्वापर्यं विविच्यते । धर्मसूत्राणि

‘अथातः सामयाचारिकाः’

इति सामयाचारस्वरूपं

वर्णनीयम् ।

तत्तच्छास्त्रीयसामयाचारिकसिद्धयर्थं महर्षिभिः

प्रणीतानि । एतानि च गुरुशिष्यविवादपूर्वकं

सिद्धान्तसूत्ररूपेण निरमीयन्तेत्यादि प्रथम-

व्याख्याने कथितम् । अधुनोपलभ्यमानानि

धर्मसूत्राणि कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयतैत्तिरीयशास्त्रीयानि

आपस्तम्बबोधायनादीनि । गौतमसूत्रं तु सामवेदगतराण्यनीयशाखागतं

शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्रं शुक्लयजुर्वेदगतशाखानुसारि । गौतमवसिष्ठविष्णुधर्म-

सूत्रैरेवमनुमातुं शक्यं यदाचारव्यवहारप्रायाश्चित्तेति काण्डत्रयं तत्रा-

सीत् । मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिषु विद्यमाना दायभागादिसर्वव्यवहारपदार्था-

स्तत्र समुपलभ्यन्ते । धर्मसूत्रप्रणयनकालः क्रिस्तशकात्प्राक्षट्शतमारभ्य

तदनन्तरं द्विशतपर्यन्तमिति वक्तुं शक्यम् । स्मृतिः तत्तच्छाखागतधर्म-

सूत्रस्य द्वितीयं रूपमिति वक्तुं शक्यमेवं च कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयमानवसूत्रमनु-

रुध्य मनुस्मृतिः प्राणीयतेति बहूनां विदुषां मतम् । ततश्च मानवसूत्रं

मनुस्मृतिप्राक्कालिकं, ततोऽन्यानि तदनन्तरजानि । शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्रा-

च्छङ्खलिखितस्मृतिः प्रादुरभूदिति यथा नामसादृश्याद्वक्तुं शक्यमेवं सर्वास्तु

किं बीजं स्यादिति विचार्यमाणे प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणं यद्यापि न वक्तुं शक्यं

तथापि श्राद्धवैश्वदेवादिषु येषां मन्त्राणां विनियोगस्तत्तत्स्मृतिषु आदृत-

स्तादृशो यत्र गृह्यसूत्रेऽधुनोपलभ्यते तच्छास्त्रीयधर्मसूत्रानुसारिणी सा

स्मृतिरिति वक्तुं शक्यम् । गृह्यसूत्रं श्रौतसूत्रवत्तत्तच्छास्त्रीयैः कण्ठे कियत

एव । सूत्राणां पौर्वापर्यं चेदं वक्तुं शक्यं यद् बौधायनसूत्रं प्राचीनं ततः

प्राक्तनं मानवं ततः प्राक्तनमापस्तम्बं ततोऽपि प्राक्तनं गौतमं, वसिष्ठस्य

सत्याषाढस्य च सूत्रमापस्तम्बसूत्रानन्तरजन्यं, विष्णुसूत्रं कठशास्त्रीयम् ।

धर्मसूत्रेषु विशेषतः सद्वाचारः, व्यवहारः, शिष्टाचार इत्यादि बोध्यते ।
क्वचित् क्वचित् गृह्यसूत्रेषु धर्मसूत्राणां निर्देशोऽस्ति ।

सूत्रस्मृतीनां सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्यविषये—

१ सूत्राणि गद्यरूपेण, स्मृतयस्तु प्रायेण पद्यरूपेण प्रणीतानि ।

२ धर्मसूत्राणि पुरातनभाषामयानि स्मृतयस्तु नवीनभाषाघटिताः ।

३ धर्मसूत्राण्यव्यवस्थितानि स्मृतयश्च व्यवस्थितप्रकरणघटिताः ।

४ तत्तच्छास्त्रीयधर्मसूत्रेषु तत्तद्वेदमन्त्राणां निर्देशस्तथैव स्मृतिष्वपि ।

अधुना विशेषतो ग्रन्थविषयवर्णनं समुपक्रम्यते—

१ गौतमधर्मसूत्रम् ।

उपलभ्यमानेषु सर्वेषु धर्मसूत्रेषु प्राचीनतममेतद् धर्मसूत्रम् । साम-
वेदराणायनीयशाखासंबन्धि । अत्र सामवेदगता मन्त्रा उद्धृताः । गौतमेन
स्वयं धृता विधयोऽत्र विलसन्ति । अत्र प्रकरणानामष्टाविंशतिः । अस्य
गद्यग्रन्थस्य भाषा पाणिनिः सूत्रपरिपूर्ता । पाठभेदेषु हरदत्तेन टीकाकृता
संगृहीताः पाठा एव संमानिताः । गौतमनाम्ना निर्दिष्टानि मिताक्षराद्युद्धृत-
वचनानि बहूनि सांप्रतमुपलभ्यमाने गौतमसूत्रे न सन्ति । काश्चन वैदिक-
संहिताः सामविधानादि ब्राह्मणानि उपनिषदः वेदाङ्गानि पुराणानि च
तत्र निरद्देश्यन्त गौतमसूत्रेषु निर्दिष्टेनाचार्या इति पदेन कस्य ग्रहणं तद्वक्तुं
न शक्यते । गौतमोक्तमेकोनविंशत्यध्यायस्थं वृत्तं बौधायनेन संगृह्यते ।
वसिष्ठोऽपि तत् स्वीये द्वाविंशेऽध्यायेऽनुवदति । गौतमस्य वसिष्ठस्य च
बहूनि सूत्राणि समानानुपूर्विकाणि । गौतमेन यवननिर्देशः कृतस्तेनायं
क्रिस्तशकानुसारं षट्शतमितसंवत्सरादनन्तरं द्विशतसंवत्सरपर्यन्ते समये
समभूदिति प्रतीयते । अस्य गौतमस्य निर्देशो याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ भविष्यपुराणे
शंकराचार्यग्रन्थे मेधातिथिग्रन्थे चास्ति । अत्र सूत्रे हरदत्तमस्कारिणो-
र्व्याख्या । तथाऽसहायस्यापि तत्र व्याख्या विलसति ।

२ बौधायनसूत्रम् ।

अयं बौधायनः कृष्णयजुर्वेदगततैत्तिरीयशास्त्रीयोऽपि सर्वैः शास्त्रिभिः
समान्यते । दाक्षिणात्योऽयं क्रिस्तोत्तरद्वितीयशतके जन्म लेभे ।

३ आपस्तम्बसूत्रम् ।

अयमापस्तम्बोऽपि दाक्षिणात्यस्तैत्तिरीयशास्त्रीय एव । तस्य सूत्राणि
विशेषतो वैदिकभाषानुपूर्वीकत्वात्तत्कालः प्राचीनतम इति प्रत्याययन्ति ।
स नियोगपेशाचविवाहादिविषये बहु साटोपं वदति ।

अस्य च कालः क्रिस्तप्रथमशतकम् ।

४ वसिष्ठसूत्रम् ।

अयमपि वसिष्ठो दाक्षिणात्यस्तौत्तिरीय एव । बौधायनापस्तम्बवसिष्ठ-
सूत्राणि त्रीण्यपि बहुशः समानानुपूर्विकाणि । अस्य कालो वक्तुं न शक्यते ।

अत्रैव बहूनां धर्मसूत्राणां तत्कृतां च केवलं नामानिर्देशं कुर्मः ।

१ हिरण्यकेशी	२ विष्णुः	३ हारीतः
४ शङ्खलिखितौ	५ मानवम्	६ कौटिलीयम्
७ वैखानसः	८ अत्रिः	९ उशनाः
१० कण्वः काण्वो वा	११ कश्यपः काश्यपो वा	१२ गार्ग्यः
१३ च्यवनः	१४ जातूकर्ण्यः	

५ देवलधर्मसूत्रम् ।

कदाचिद् देवलसूत्रमासीदिति प्रतीयते । यतो मिताक्षरादिष्वाचार-
व्यवहारप्रायश्चित्तेति त्रिष्वपि काण्डेषु देवलवर्चासि प्रमाणत्वेनोदाह्रियन्ते ।
अधुनोपलभ्यमानमानन्दाश्रममुद्रितं स्मृत्यात्मकं भिन्नम् । यतस्तत्र केवलं
श्लोकानां नवतिरेवोपलभ्यते तत्र च म्लेच्छसंसर्गप्रायश्चित्तमेव प्रतिपाद्यते ।
तद्गता एव केचन श्लोकाः (१७-२२) अपराङ्गेण आपस्तम्बीयत्वेन
गृहीताः । (३०-३१) इति द्वौ मिताक्षरापरार्काभ्यां विष्णुनाम्नैव निर्दिष्टौ ।
अपत्यकर्मविद्योति ज्योतिस्त्रयं देवलो वदतीति श्रीमन्महाभारते । नीति-
ग्रन्थस्य प्रणेता देवलः कात्यायनबृहस्पतिसमकालिक आसीदिति प्रतीयते ।
अधुना स्मृतिविषये किञ्चिद्विद्यते ।

स्मृतिपदेन वेदातिरिक्ता ग्रन्था ग्राह्याः । पाणिनिश्रौतसूत्रमहाभारतः

दयः श्रीशंकराचार्यैः स्मृतित्वेन व्यपाद्विद्यन्ते ।

स्मृतिसंख्या ।

तथा च पाणिनिस्मृतिरिति । मन्वादिग्रन्थाः

स्मृतयः । धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः । इति मनुक्या

धर्मशास्त्रस्यैव स्मृतिरिति संज्ञा । याज्ञवल्कीये विंशतिः स्मृतयः, पराशरीये
एकोनविंशतिः, तन्त्रवार्तिके अष्टादश धर्मसंहिताः कथ्यन्ते । अपराङ्गेण
षट्त्रिंशत् (६३) स्मृतयः कथिताः । वृद्धगौतमेन सप्तपञ्चाशत् । वीरमित्रो-
दये अष्टादश स्मृतयः, अष्टादश उपस्मृतयः, एकाविंशतिरन्यादृश्यः निर्णय-
सिन्धुमयूखाबुद्धृताः स्मृतयः शतसंख्याका भवेयुः । कुत्रचित् स्मृतीनां
संख्या पञ्चत्रिंशदुत्तरशतपरिगणिताऽस्ति । तत्र काश्चन गद्यपद्यात्मिकाः,
काश्चन केवलं गद्यात्मिकाः परं ता अल्पीयस्यः । पद्यात्मिकास्तु प्रभूताः ।
तत्र समाननामत्वेऽपि लघुबृहद्वृद्धेतिविशेषणाविशिष्टाः काश्चित् स्मृतयः

सन्ति । तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यबृहद्याज्ञवल्क्येत्यादौ भूयान् भेदो विषयेषु प्रकरणेषु च । तथापि हारीतशातातपात्रीतिनिर्दिष्टं स्मृतित्रयं लघुबृहद्बृद्धेतिविशेषणविलसितं समानार्थकमेव केवलं संक्षेपविस्तारविशिष्टं लघुबृहदिति विशेषणानुक्कूलरचनात्मकम् । वृद्धेतिविशेषणसमय एवमपि वक्तुं शक्यं यदियं स्मृतिस्तत्तत्पण्डितैर्भिन्नकालजैर्वृद्धिं प्रापितेति । काश्चन हारीतादिस्मृतयो वैष्णवादिमतप्रतिपादिन्यो मतान्तरनिन्दावहाश्च दृश्यन्ते । अत्रोदाहरणं वृद्धहारीतस्मृतिः । अत्र प्रायश्चित्तमाचारश्चांशतः प्रतिपाद्यतेऽङ्कनादिरूपो, व्यवहारस्य तु नामापि न श्रूयते । अत्र सूत्रोपनिषत्प्रतिपादित-भस्मधारणं निन्द्यते तद्धारकाश्च चाण्डालत्वेन निन्द्यन्ते । तेनैतासां प्रामाण्ये भवति विसंवादः सूज्ञानाम् । किं च यथोपनिषत्सु तथा स्मृतिषु व्यवयवकत्वं विलसति । तथा हि—

१ आख्यायिका २ तत्त्वज्ञानम् ३ उपासनाश्चेति त्रयं यासूपनिषत्सु ता
महोपनिषदः । यत्र केवलमंशद्वयमेकोऽंशश्च तत्रेशावा-
स्मृतिनां स्यादिषु लघूपनिषत्त्वं, तथैवाचारव्यवहारप्रायश्चित्तेति
व्यवयवकत्वम् । काण्डत्रयं यत्र ता महास्मृतयः, १ मनुस्मृतिः २ याज्ञ-
वल्क्यस्मृतिः, ३ पराशरस्मृतिश्चेति । तत्र च विद्यतेऽंश-
त्रयम् । आचारव्यवहारप्रायश्चित्तान्तर्गतमंशद्वयमेको वा यत्र विद्यते देवला-
दिस्मृतिषु ता लघुस्मृतयः । एता लघुस्मृतय एव बहुसंख्याकाः । लघु-
स्मृतयो व्याख्याविशिष्टा न भवन्ति । महास्मृतयस्तु प्रभूतव्याख्यायुताः ।
तत्र, मनुस्मृतौ व्याख्याष्टकं, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ च त्रिचतुरा व्याख्याः
पराशरस्मृतावुपबृंहणरूपं माधवीयं भाष्यम् । एवं चैता महास्मृतीर्यथाक्रमं
विवृणुमः । एतासां स्मृतीनां पद्येषु पाठभेदा दूरीदृश्यन्ते । तत्र कारणं
व्याख्याकृतो निबन्धकृतश्च स्मरणेनैव निबन्धान्तरपुस्तकं च दृष्ट्वा तत्त-
त्स्मृतिवाक्यानि लिखन्ति । न स्मृतिपुस्तकमालोचयन्ति ।

मनुस्मृतिः— ‘यन्मनुर्वदत् तद्भेषजम्’ इति तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणप्रथित-
माह्वान्यो मनुः (मनावी धाव्ये इति तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणम् ।) किंस्तजन्मनः
प्राक् द्वादशशतमारभ्य द्विशतपर्यन्तं कस्मिंश्चित् काले प्रादुरभूदिति बहूनां
पण्डितानां व्युल्लादीनां मतम् । स च मनुष्याणां जनक इत्युच्यते ।
शातपथब्राह्मणे च मनु-जलप्रलययोराख्यायिका । निरुक्ते दायभागप्रणेतृ-
त्वेन मनोर्निर्देशः । तथैव गौतमीये महाभारत आपस्तम्बीये च । नारद-
स्मृतावुपोद्धाते लक्षश्लोकात्मकं धर्मशास्त्रं मनुना प्रणीतं तच्च नारदाय
प्रादायीति कथितम् । एवमेवार्थवादो भविष्यपुराणे मनुविषयकः । मानव-
गृह्यसूत्रमनुप्राणीयत मनुस्मृतिरिति मते कैश्चिद्विवादः संभाव्यते । यतो

मानवगृह्यसूत्रे विनायकशान्तिः, वधूपरीक्षा च प्रोच्यते न ते मनुस्मृता-
वुच्येते इति । अत्रेदं ध्येयं मानवधर्मेसूत्रमनुप्राणीयत मनुस्मृतिर्न मानव-
गृह्यमनु इत्यस्ति वादः । महाभारते मनुद्वयं वर्णितम् । एकश्च स्वायम्भुवो
मनुः प्रणेता धर्मशास्त्रस्य । अपरस्तु प्राचेतसो मनुरर्थशास्त्रस्य । अधुनो-
पलभ्यमाने मनुस्मृतिपुस्तके धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रेति द्वयमप्युपलभ्यते । प्रसक्ता-
नुप्रसक्त्येवमापि वक्तुं शक्यं यद् अधुनोपलभ्यमाने मनुस्मृतिग्रन्थे संस्करण-
त्रयमस्ति यतस्तत्र तत्र परस्पराविरुद्धानि नियोगशूद्रभार्याविवाहादि-
बोधकनिषेधकानि भूयांसि वचांसि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र द्वितीयं तृतीयं वा
संस्करणं याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्यनन्तरजमिति उभयस्मृत्योः पर्यालोचयितॄणां
मतिपथमारोहेत् । सामान्यतो मनोः श्लोकाः सरलार्थकाः पाणिनीय-
व्याकरणानुसृताश्च दृश्यन्ते । अधुनोपलभ्यमानमनुस्मृतिपुस्तके सुद्वितीभ्यः
श्लोकेभ्यो बहिर्भूताः स्मृत्यनन्तरव्याख्यानिबन्धादिधृता मनुनामनिर्दिष्टा
प्रभूताः श्लोकाः सन्ति येषां परिगणनं ग्रन्थशरीराद् बाहिर्गुजरातप्रतिग-
मुद्विगतपुस्तके कृतम् । अन्यच्च बृहन्मनुर्वृद्धमनुरिति नाम्ना निर्दिष्टं मनुद्वयमस्ति
तत्प्रथितान्मनोः पश्चात्तन्मित्येवाङ्गीकार्यम् । मनुमौर्यसमये समुदभूत् ।

वैदिकमहर्षिषु याज्ञवल्क्यस्य नाम प्रथिततमम् । शतपथे याज्ञवल्क्य-
जनकसंवादः प्रासिद्धः । बृहदारण्यकेऽयं मैत्रेय्यादिसंवादेऽ-
याज्ञवल्क्यः ध्यात्मवित्तम इति श्रूयते । याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्यन्तिमश्लोके-
स्तेनैव महर्षिणाऽऽरण्यकं योगशास्त्रं च प्रणीतमिति
काथितम् । नवमशतके प्रादुर्भवताऽक्षिपुराणेन नवशतात्मकाः श्लोका
याज्ञवल्क्यकृता इति परिगणितम् । विश्वरूपमिताक्षरापरार्कव्याख्यानां मूल-
श्लोकविषये महान् विसंवादः सोऽपि प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड एव भूयान् । अस्याः
स्मृतेः प्रणयनकालः क्रिस्तप्रथमशतकादारभ्य तृतीयशतकपर्यन्तं कदाचित् ।
अस्य च स्मृतिः सर्वमान्या । अयं च शातवाहनकालिकः । व्यवहारदाय-
भागे मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोर्भूयान् भेदः । स च सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्यप्रघटके दर्श-
यिष्यामः ।

मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये ।

प्रथमसंस्करणात्मकस्य मनुग्रन्थस्यायं याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिरूपः सुयोग्यः
संक्षेप इत्युभयस्मृतिविदां मतम् । व्यवहारे तु राजपद्धत्यनुसारं भेदः ।

१ याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ विनायकशान्तिः, गृहशान्तिः, दिव्यानि च । तथा
मनौ नास्ति । इदं कदाचिद्याज्ञवल्कीयेऽपि प्रक्षिप्तं स्यात् ।

२ जगदुत्पत्तिर्मनौ विद्यते याज्ञवल्कीये न । मनौ द्वितीयसंस्करण-
जन्येयम् ।

- ३ विष्णुधर्मसूत्रं याज्ञवल्कीयं तथा कौटिलीयमर्थशास्त्रं याज्ञवल्कीयं च समानम् । अत एव मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोर्व्यवहारे भेदः ।
- ४ मनुः शूद्रस्त्रीपरिणयमनुमनुते, याज्ञवल्क्यः श्रुतिप्रमाणमादृत्य निषेधति तम् ।
- ५ नियोगानिन्दा मनौ (कदाचित् द्वितीयसंस्करणे) समुपलभ्यते याज्ञवल्कीये च नियोगस्य विधिः । एवमेव द्यूतादावपि गतिः ।
- ६ मनुर्दायविषये स्त्रियो निषेधति याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु पितुर्भर्तुश्च धनं स्त्री लभेतेत्यनुमनुते । दायविषये याज्ञवल्क्यमतेन स्त्रियोऽधिक्रियन्ते किंतु मिताक्षरादयस्तन्नैवाद्रियन्ते तथैव न्यायालयाः ।
- ७ पुत्रदायविषये तत्तत्पुत्रदृष्ट्या मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोर्मतभेदः ।
- ८ कौटिल्यानन्तरजस्य याज्ञवल्क्यस्य विभक्तभ्रातृस्त्रीदायविषये मनुना सह विप्रतिपत्तिः । एतत्सविस्तरं स्त्रीधनविषये ब्रूमः ।
- ९ मन्वादयः सर्वे द्वादशसु पुत्रेषु बन्धुदायादा अवन्धुदायादश्चेति विभज्य दायं व्यवहरन्ति । याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु सर्वत्र सममेव व्यवहरति ।
- १० मातरि मृतायां बन्धवो भगिन्यश्च समांशका इति मानवं कौटिलीयं च मतम् । याज्ञवल्क्यस्य तत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः । स्त्रीणां कन्यादीनां दायविषये याज्ञवल्क्यस्य विशेषतः पक्षपातः ।
- ११ मनुः (९-२१५) न पुत्रभागं विषमं दद्यादित्याह । याज्ञवल्क्यस्त्वत्र स्त्रीविभागेन दायो विभजनीय इति ।

अन्यदपि प्रभूतं तारतम्यमास्ति तत् प्रतिप्रकरणं विचारे समालोचयिष्यामः । अनयोरेव स्मृत्योर्विशेषतस्तारतम्यं परीक्षणीयं न पराशरस्मृतेः । यतस्तत्रालपीयान् व्यवहारो विवृतः । विस्तृतस्त्वनयोरेव स्मृत्योर्विशेषेण । पराशरीये आचारप्रायश्चित्तविषय एव बहु पराक्रान्तं न व्यवहारे । स्मृत्यन्तरेषु संक्षिप्ततथैव वर्णनम् ।

पराशरः—अयं प्राचीनतमस्तैत्तिरीयारण्यके बृहदारण्यके निरुक्ते च वर्ण्यमानो महर्षिः स्मृतिमिमां प्राणिन्ये । पराशरेणालपीयान् व्यवहारो वर्णितः । सोऽपि च राजविषयक एव । तेन चत्वारः पुत्राः १ औरसाः २ क्षेत्रजाः ३ दत्तकाः ४ कृत्रिमाः इति वर्णिता अन्ये तु न निषिद्धाः । तत्र 'नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते' इत्यादि प्रार्थितं स्त्रीणां पुनर्विवाहस्य विधायकं वाक्यं दृश्यते । तद्वये अनुगमनस्य (देशभाषया सतीगमनस्य) स्तुतिः कृता । पराशरो मनुमतमनुवदति । कुत्रचिदेतयोः समानाक्षराः श्लोकाः सन्ति ।

अस्यावतारकालः—क्रिस्तजन्मनोऽनन्तरं प्रथमशतात् पञ्चमशतक-

पर्यन्तम् । बृहत्पराशरः कश्चिदेतदनन्तरजः स्मृतिकृत् । कलियुग उपयुज्य-
माना पराशरस्मृतिः ।

नारदः— त्रिकाण्डभूषितास्यापि स्मृतिः । अस्य जन्म क्रिस्तोद्भवा-
दनन्तरं पञ्चमं षष्ठं वा शतकम् । अस्यां स्मृतावसहायस्य व्याख्या । एतद-
नन्तरं बृहस्पति, कात्यायन, अङ्गिरस, ऋष्यशृङ्ग काष्णाजिनि प्रभृतीनां
शतसंख्याकानां महर्षीणां स्मृतयः । परं ता विस्तरभयाच्च वर्ण्यन्ते ।

अधुना व्याख्याकृतां निबन्धानां च कालक्रमेण वर्णनम् । असहायस्य
व्याख्या नारदस्मृतावित्यनुपदमेवोक्तम् । भर्तृयज्ञो
व्याख्यानिबन्धाश्च । नाम भाष्यकारः । शंकराचार्यैर्बृहदारण्यकभाष्येऽस्य
निर्देशः कृतः । तथैव तस्य पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे गौतम-
धर्मसूत्रे च व्याख्या ।

विश्वरूपः— अस्य च याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ बालक्रीडाख्या व्याख्या । यदि
सुरेश्वर एवायं यथा केचन मन्यते तर्ह्यस्य समयः क्रिस्ताष्टमशतकम् ।
वस्तुतस्तु विश्वरूपोऽयं भिन्नः ।

भारुचिः—तत्त्वज्ञो भारुचिरयं च समान एवेति भाति । बहुषु स्थले-
ष्वनेन सह विज्ञानेश्वरस्य विमतिः ।

श्रीकरः—अयं मैथिलो भवितुमर्हति । (८००-१०५०) कालः ।

मेधातिथिः—दाक्षिणात्य इति केचित् । अयमौत्तराहः प्रायः काश्मीरा-
भिजनः । अयं प्राच्यां मीमांसायां प्रवीणः । यत्र तत्र विध्यर्थवादमीमांसा-
मारुचयति । विस्तरशः संन्यासपदेन अहंकारत्याग इत्येवार्थः कर्मत्याग-
रूपोऽर्थो न ग्राह्यः । क्षत्रियजोऽपि बालो ब्राह्मणेन पुत्रीकर्तुं शक्यत इति च
तन्मतम् । नष्टे मृते इत्यत्र पतिशब्दः पालकरूपमर्थं ब्रूते इति प्रतिपादयति ।
अस्य समयः क्रिस्ताब्द (८२५-९००)

धारेश्वरभोजदेवः— धाराधिपेनानेन भोजदेवेन काव्यालंकारज्योतिष-
योगादिशास्त्रेषु ग्रन्थाः प्राणीयन्त । अनेन सह क्वचित् विज्ञानेश्वरो विरु-
ध्यते । धर्मप्रदीपस्तु केनचिदन्येन भारमल्लसुतेन भोजेन प्रणीतः ।

देवस्वामीः— (१०००-१०५०)

अथ जितेन्द्रियबालकबालरूपयोगेश्वराश्च ।

विज्ञानेश्वरः—अयं दाक्षिणात्यः कल्याणपुरनिवासी विक्रमार्कसमयजश्च
महामान्यो व्याख्याकृत् नैकमप्यक्षरं स्मृत्यवलम्बं विना कथयति । तथापि
मूलेन सह स्मृत्यन्तरालम्बाद् विरुध्यते यथायं राजकीयन्यायालयेषु महा-
मान्यो न तथा स्वयं स्मृतिकृत् । तत् प्रसङ्गानुसारं विवरिष्यामः । सापिण्ड-
पदार्थं समानः पिण्डो देहारम्भकत्वेनेत्यादिरूपमर्थं स्वीकृत्य रक्तसाम्या-
नुसारं दायविभागमनुमनुते । दाये सप्रतिबन्धो दायोऽप्रतिबन्धो दायश्चेति
विभागद्वयम् । सर्वेषु पदेषु जीमूतवाहनेन सहास्य विप्रतिपत्तिः । अत्र

टीकात्रयम् । विश्वेश्वरः, नन्दपण्डितः बालभट्टश्च । अस्य कालः । १०७०
११०० । अये कामधेनु, हलायुध, भादेवभट्ट, प्रकाश, पारिजाताः ।
गोविन्दराजः कुल्लूकेनोद्धृतः । कल्पतरुः, लक्ष्मीधरः । जीमूतवाहनो वङ्ग-
देशीयो विज्ञानेश्वरस्य बहुशो विरोधी । अधुना न्यायालयस्थैर्दायभागो
वङ्गेषु, मिताक्षरा महाराष्ट्रादिषु सर्वत्र संमान्यते ।

अपराकः—याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिव्याख्याता ।

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका—अस्याः कर्ता दाक्षिणात्यो देवणभट्टः । विज्ञानेश्वर-
मतीव समनुते । तथापि कुत्रचिद्विरुध्यते ।

हरदत्तः—दाक्षिणात्यः ।

हेमाद्रिः—दाक्षिणात्यः अस्य पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणिर्ज्ञानकोशवद्ग्रन्थः ।
बोपदेवसमकालीनः यादवराजसमयस्थः ।

कुल्लूकः—मेधातिथिं बहुशोऽनुकरोति क्वचिद्विरुध्यते । (११५०—१३००)

माधवाचार्यः—दाक्षिणात्यः । हेमाद्रिणा विरुध्यते । बुक्कसमकालिकः ।
मातुलकन्याविषये मीमांसान्यायमालाविस्तराख्येन स्वीयग्रन्थेनास्य विरोधः ।

मदनरतनः—महानिबन्धः (१४२५—१४५०)

शूलपाणिः—याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेर्व्याख्या दीपकलिका तत्प्रणेता । जीमूत-
वाहनवद्वङ्गीयेषु मान्यः । अस्य च स्मृतिविवेकादयो बहवो ग्रन्थाः ।

रुद्रधरः—मिसरुमिश्र, वाचस्पतिमिश्रः—सैथिलः । विवादचिन्तामणेः
प्रणेता । अन्येऽपि प्रभूता ग्रन्था निरमीयन्त ।

कमलाकरभट्टस्य विवादताण्डव इत्यादयः ।

नीलकण्ठभट्टः—व्यवहारमयूखस्य प्रणेता । अयं महामान्यो विवाद-
कुशलश्च । अतीव पाण्डित्यप्रचुरं लिखति । मिताक्षरां स्तौति च कुत्रचित्
विनिन्दति ।

अन्ये अनन्तदेव, नागोजीभट्ट, बालभट्ट काशीनाथोपाध्यायादयः ।

जगन्नाथतर्कपञ्चाननः—विवादभङ्गार्णवस्य प्रणेता (१८०६)

दत्तकचन्द्रिका दत्तकमीमांसादयोऽपि वर्ण्याः ।

इदं सूत्रस्मृतिग्रन्थानां सविस्तरं वर्णनं मया विशेषतः आहतं येन
समन्वयापरपर्यायभूतैकवाक्यतायां पूर्वेषामेव ग्रन्थानामस्तूपयोगो न पश्चा-
द्भाविनां, यदि केनचिदङ्गीकृतस्तर्हि मास्त्वादरभाजनं सः ।

अत्र ये कालनिर्देशा उद्धृतास्ते सर्वे धर्मशास्त्रालोडनप्रमाणितमतीनां
प्रोफेसरकोणमहेदयानामैतिहासिकग्रन्थगता एव यथायथं स्वीकृताः ।

॥ इति तृतीयं व्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ॥

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APPENDIX I

List of Journals, Periodicals and Institutions on Exchange



(Upto 6th July 1933)

- 1 The "Man", Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, London (England).
- 2 Journal of the R. A. Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 74, Grosvenor Street, London (England).
- 3 Asiatic Review, 3, Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1., England.
- 4 The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 41, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1., (England).
- 5 The Librarian, School of Oriental Studies, London Institution Finsbury Circus, London E. C. 2. (England).
- 6 "The Shrine of Wisdom", Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11. (England).
- 7 Zeitschrift der Deutschen, Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).
- 8 Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften N. W. 7, Unter de London 38, Berlin, (Germany).
- 9 Universitäts-Bibliothek, Göttingen, (Germany).
- 10 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, (Germany).
- 11 Zeitschrift für Buddhismus Oskar Schloss Verlag, München Neuberg, (Germany).
- 12 Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Deutschen Morgenlandischen, Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).
- 13 Berlin Academy of Science, Berlin, (Germany).
- 14 Bavarian Academy of Science, Munich, (Germany).
- 15 The Director of Indian Institute Oslo University Oslo, (Norway).
- 16 Oriental Institute Prague (Czechoslovakia).
- 17 The Editor "Indologica Pragensia" seminar für Indologie der Deutschen Universität Prague (Czechoslovakia).
- 18 Różnicki Orgentalistyczny, Lwów, (Poland).
- 19 "The Journal Asiatique" Société Asiatique, Rue Jacob No. 13 (VI^e) Paris. (France).
- 20 Académie des Inscriptions, et Belles-Lettres, 82 Rue Bonaparte, 82 Paris (France).
- 21 Mémoires de la Société, de Linguistique de Paris, 5, Quai Maloquais, Paris, (France).
- 22 L'Instruction Publique et Des Beaux-Arts Musée Guimet, 6 Place d'Iéna 7 Paris (XVI^e) (France).
- 23 Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität, Wien, (Austria).
- 24 L'Ecole Française, d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, (French Indo-China).

ii *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

- 25 "Rays from the Rose Cross", The Rosicrucian Fellowship, Oceanside, California (U. S. A.).
- 26 Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston, Massachusetts, (U. S. A.).
- 27 The Museum Journal, University Museum, Philadelphia Pa, (U. S. A.).
- 28 The Political Science Quarterly, C/o The Academy of Political Science, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, (U.S.A.).
- 29 The Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 104, South 5th Street, Philadelphia, (U. S. A)
- 30 The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Yale University Press, Connecticut, (U. S. A.).
- 31 The American Anthropologist, C/o American Anthropological Association, 41, North Queen Str. Lancaster, (U. S. A.).
- 32 The Ohio Journal of Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, (U. S. A.).
- 33 New Orient Society of America, 337 East Chicago Ave., Chicago. (U. S. A.).
- 34 Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia, (U. S. A.).
- 35 Social Science Research Council, New York, (U. S. A.).
- 36 The Journal of Society of Oriental Research, Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- 37 "Nuova Cultura" Della R. Università di Napoli, Via Sanita No. 131, Vapoli, (Italy).
- 38 Oriental School, University of Rome (Italy).
- 39 Sumptibus Pontifici Instituti Biblici Roma 101, (Italy).
- 40 Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien, Wien, (Austria).
- 41 Journal of Oriental Institute, Universität, Wien, (Austria).
- 42 Archives Orientalis Uppsala, (Sweden).
- 43 Kungl Universitetes Bibliotek, Uppsala, (Sweden).
- 44 "Kern Institute", Leiden, (Holland)
- 45 Section d'Etudes Orientales Societe des Sciences de Varsovie Varsovie, Rue Sniadeckich 8 (Poland).
- 46 The Journal of the Java Institute Kweek-schoolaan 3, Djokjakarta (Java)
- 47 Royal Batavia Society, Museum, Konigsplein West 12, Batavia, (Java).
- 48 The Buddhist Chronicle, Ananda College, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 49 The Eastern Buddhist, C/o The Library, Otani University, Muromaci-Kashira, Kyoto, Japan.
- 50 Fundamental Library of the Central Asian State University, Tashkent, U. S. S. Russia.
- 51 Arhatamat Prabhakar Karyalaya, Poona No. 2.
- 52 "Progress of Education", C/o Aryabhushan Press, Poona No. 4
- 53 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
- 54 "Vividha-Jñāna-Vistāra", 81, Phanaswadi, Bombay No. 2.
- 55 The Journal of the Anthropological Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
- 56 The Indian Antiquary, C/o British India Press. Mazgaon Bombay

- 57 Journal of the K. R. Kama Oriental Institute, 172, Hornby Road Sukhadwalla Buildings, Fort Bombay.
- 58 The Jain Hitaishi, C/o Manager, Jain Grantha Ratnakar Karyalaya, Hirabag, Girgaon, Bombay.
- 59 The Iranian Association, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
- 60 University of Bombay, Bombay.
- 61 "Jain Gazette," Office, 21 Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street, G. T. Madras.
- 62 Madras University Library, Madras.
- 63 The Indian Review, C/o G. B. Natesan and Co., Madras.
- 64 The "Kalpaka," The Latent Light Culture, Tinnevely, Madras.
- 65 Educational Review, No. 4 Mount Road, Madras.
- 66 "Vedanta Kesari," Shri Ramkrishna Matha, Mylapore, Madras.
- 67 Journal of Oriental Research, Mylapore, Madras.
- 68 The Indian Historical Quarterly, C/o The Calcutta Oriental Press, 107 Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.
- 69 "The Sanskrit Sahityaparishat," Shyambazar, Calcutta.
- 70 Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta-University, Calcutta.
- 71 The Calcutta Review, Senate House, Calcutta.
- 72 Journal of the Mahabodhi Society, 4 A College Square, Calcutta.
- 73 "The People," 2, Court Street, Lahore.
- 74 The Central Museum, Lahore.
- 75 The Vedic Magazine, the Vedic Magazine Office, Lahore.
- 76 Journal of Indian History, History Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- 77 Allahabad University Journal, Department of English, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- 78 Mysore University Journal, Mysore.
- 79 Sanskrit College Magazine, Government Sanskrit College, Mysore.
- 80 The Journal of the Mythic Society, Mysore Road, Bangalore.
- 81 Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur, (S. India).
- 82 "The Philosophical Quarterly," C/o Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner (East Khandesh).
- 83 Baroda Library, Baroda.
- 84 The Vishvabharati, Shantiniketan, Bolpur (Bengal).
- 85 Telugu Academy, Coconada.
- 86 Superintendent of Archaeology, Jammu and Kashmir State Jammu.
- 97 "Yogamimansa" Kunjavana, Lonavala, G. I. P. Ry.
- 98 The "Prabuddha Bharata," Mayavati, Dist. Almora, Himalayas.
- 99 Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
- 100 Revue Historique de l'Inde Francaise, Pondicherry. (Fr. India).
- 101 Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. S. India.
- 102 Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, (Bengal).
- 103 "Man in India," Church Road, Ranchi, B. N. Ry.
- 104 Journal of Burma Research Society, (Bernard Free Library), Rangoon, Burma.
- 105 Sri Agamodaya Samiti, Gopipara, Surat.

iv *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

- 106 The Tanjore S. M. Library, Tanjore.
 - 107 The Curator for the publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum.
 - 108 Secretary Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
 - 109 Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2.
 - 110 Director of the Archaeological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.
 - 111 Karnataka Historical Quarterly, Dharwar.
 - 112 Government Oriental Library, Mysore.
 - 113 Journal of Uruswati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, Naggar, Kulu (Punjab).
 - 114 " New Age " 15, N. I. Lines, Karachi.
 - 115 " Pravinya " 220, Kandewadi Naka, Bombay 4.
 - 116 " Lokashikshana " Near Training College, Poona 2.
 - 117 Director General of Archaeology, Simla.
 - 118 Imperial Library, Calcutta.
 - 119 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. (U. S. A.)
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APPENDIX II

List of Members of the Institute

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(Brought upto 6th July 1933)

(i) *Honorary Members*

- 1 M. M. Vasudevshastri Abhyankar, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2. 10-9-18
- 2 Muniraj Jinavijayaji, Shantiniketan, Bolpur (Bengal). 16-4-21
- 3 Dr. Silvain L  vi, 9, Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris 12-9-26
- 4 Dr. H. L  ders, 20 Sybelstr, Charlottenberg, Berlin. 6-7-28
- 5 Mrs Rhys Davids, Chipstead Surrey, England. 6-7-31
- 6 Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University, Mysore. 12-9-26
- 7 Dr. F. W. Thomas, 161 Woodstock Road, Oxford. 12-9-26
- 8 Dr. M. Winternitz, I, Klementinum Prague (Czechoslovakia) 30-2-25

(ii) *Patrons*

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